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WORLD

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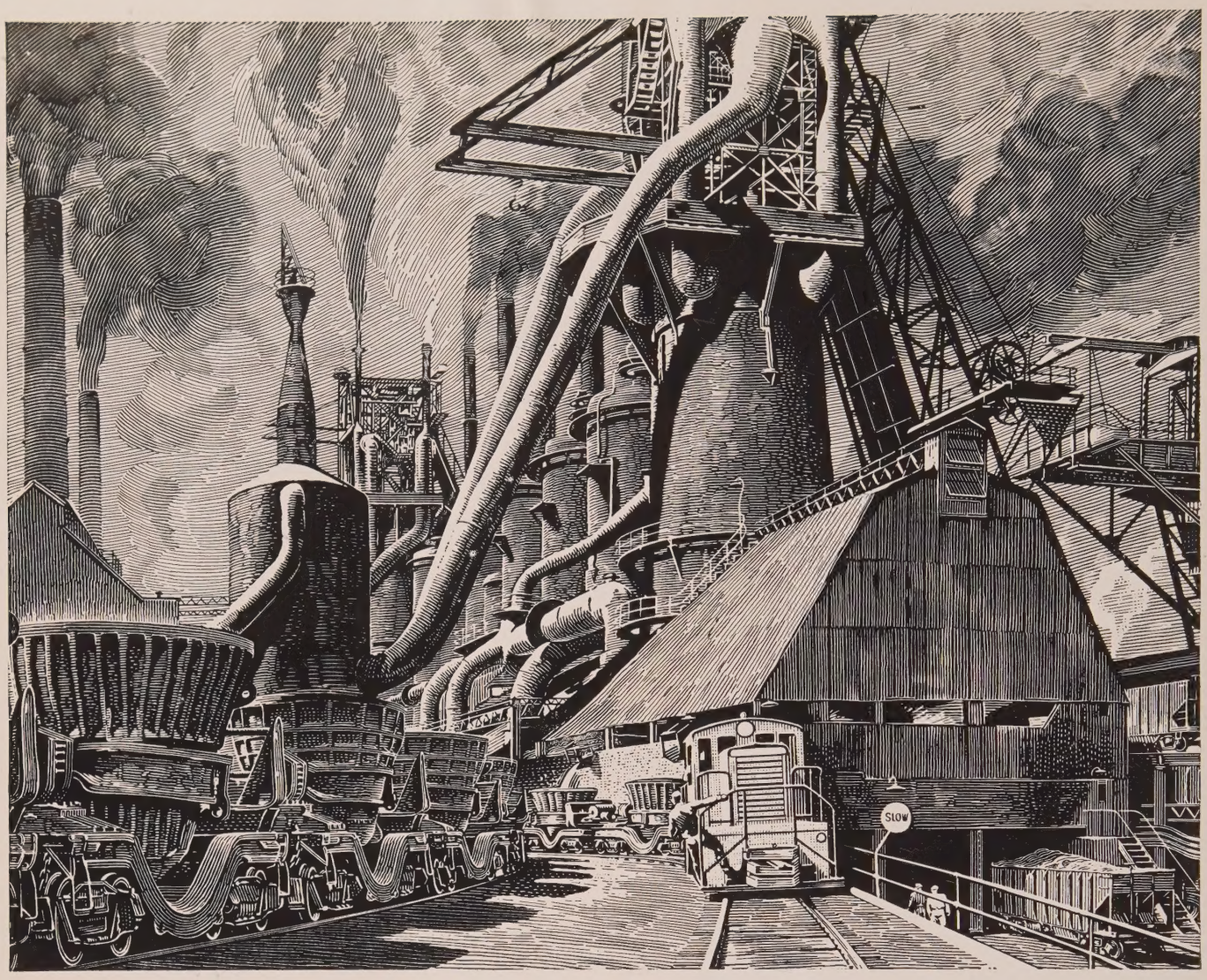

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From UNW's Editorial Workshop

AMONG the things that make life interesting for UNW editors are brushes with touchy governments. When, for example, in its September, 1948 issue UNW announced that China was turning against Chiang, the Kuomintang government from its seat in Nanking launched a series of protests not without its world reverberations. It actually held a cabinet meeting to map strategy for refuting the article. At one point, it threatened to bring the case before the UN General Assembly then in session in Paris. The controversy ended abruptly with the Communist sweep southward which compelled a re-orientation of the Nanking government's belligerency — away from UNW.

Similarly, representatives of the Netherlands government in the US lost their tempers when UNW labeled President Soekarno of Indonesia as one of the "future leaders of Asia." In fact, the good people of the Netherlands are no longer on speaking terms with us. It may be, though, that they will soon re-consider their attitude now that Soekarno is out of jail and back at his post in Indonesia.

When the news of the Dutch-Indonesian agreement was flashed to the UNW editorial workshop, it was decided to cable Soekarno for a statement. Indonesian authorities were contacted, and they told us that, despite rapprochement, the Dutch might still not regard Soekarno as one of the leaders of Asia, and might still delay our cable—and even prevent it from reaching him.

Let it be said that UNW did reach him, despite an unofficial comunications blockade. It was through the facilities, and in the code, of a government friendly to Indonesia, that we cabled to Soekarno whose statement will appear in the September issue.

WHEN the story of Chiang's possible comeback was discussed with Colonel Arnade in UNW's editorial workshop, we asked him about the secret of Communist strength. The Communist ideology, he answered, which is hammered into the Chinese by a small army of propaganda officers, is one explanation. The fact, is, however, that pitched battles never take place in China. Hence, not even the Communist troops may be described as battle-tested.

"Indeed," he said, "on the basis of my personal experience with some Communist troops, I venture to say that this much-vaunted military organization has a prestige far greater than its actual military prowess. If one were given a force of 22,000 soldiers—approximately the strength of New York's "finest"—men with their morale and stamina, "one could clean up the whole mess in a year's time." Colonel Arnade's articles on the military problems of the peace will be featured from time to time in UNW.

ONE of the very few correspondents to obtain entry into the USSR is Gunnar Fagrell, UNW's Scandinavian editor (see page 46). He was accorded this privilege because one of the West's Ambassadors in Moscow sent him an invitation and then lobbied in the Minindel for his visa.

THE September issue of UNW will feature the crucial second part of Admiral Zacharias' article "The A-Bomb Was Not Needed," the first part of which is printed in this issue; exclusive stories by Presidents Soekarno of Indonesia and Prio of Cuba; and a startling study of criminal trends on the American scene.

V. X. Madison

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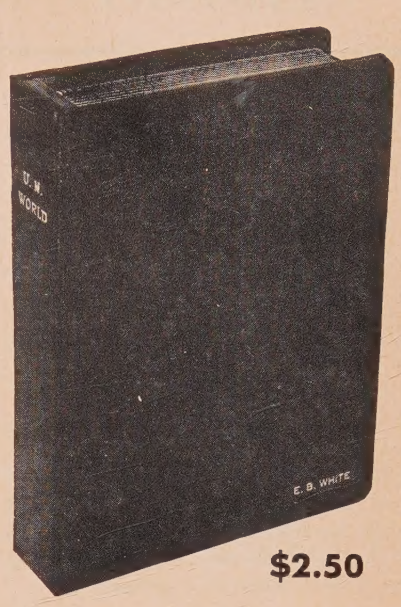

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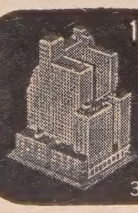

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FROM UNW's CALENDAR OF "FIRSTS"

MARCH 1947

■ UNW breaks the news that France has cracked the secret of atomic energy. (Sixteen months later France reveals that its atomic pile, ZOE-1, is in action.) In his famous "Balance Sheet of USSR-US Forces" Adm. Zacharias predicts: no world supremacy for either without war.

JULY 1947

■ At a time when the world press predicts the victory of either De Gaulle or of the Communists, Louis Dolivet reports from France that moderate factions will defeat the extremists. His analysis was to be confirmed not only week-by-week but also from a long-range perspective.

NOVEMBER 1947

■ This was the period when the whole world expected civil war in Italy and a new "March on Rome." UNW publishes an article, "No Revolution in Italy," which states that constitutional forces would win. Half a year later, the results of the elections ratified UNW prediction.

MARCH 1948

■ UNW is first of world press to report the rumblings of discontent inside the Soviet bloc. Mentions George Dimitrov of Bulgaria and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia as proponents of a Balkan policy vetoed by Russia. Two months later Tito breaks with USSR. Dimitrov is dead.

MAY 1948

■ UNW Senior Editor Ladislas Farago presents his "Inside Story of the Palestine Fiasco." He shows how and why British policy must end in a resounding defeat. He also reveals Britain's secret Clayton Plan for the Middle East. Events confirm article throughout next year.

JULY 1948

■ UNW proclaims the success of the European Reconstruction Plan, 8 months ahead of the world press. World Business Editor Herbert Harris' article "Achilles Heel of Marshall Plan: East-West Trade" is the first to point up a vital truth which has now become obvious to all.

During the past two and a half years UNW has published exclusive articles by:

Vincent Auriol
Warren R. Austin
William L. Batt
Edouard Benes
Ernest Bevin
D. W. Brogan
Pearl Buck
Curtis E. Calder
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Eleanor Roosevelt
Bertrand Russell
Emil Schramm
Sir Hartley Shawcross
Willard L. Thorp
Juan Trippe
Sen. Arthur H. Vandenberg
Sen. Alexander Wiley
Adm. E. M. Zacharias

SEPTEMBER 1948

■ Under the dramatic title "China Turns Against Chiang," UNW forecasts the forthcoming offensive against the regime of the Generalissimo. Disturbed, the Chinese Government prepares to protest at the UN. But UN editors prove their unimpeachable sources. Appeal is dropped.

APRIL 1948

■ UNW announces that Moscow is about to reverse its post-war policy of creating constant high tension in world affairs as its main tactic. Six weeks later the world learns that the Soviet Union is ready and willing to achieve a rapprochement and to deal with the West.

NOVEMBER 1948

■ This is the period of war jitters and pessimism. International tension reaches new heights. UNITED NATIONS WORLD, however, anticipates the transition from cold war to cold peace: "The cold war becomes a world political struggle and, paradoxically, promises peace."

MAY 1949

■ UNW's State of the World leads off with the following words: "A strange and unexplained phenomenon puzzles the chancellories; it is the ever growing faith in peace amidst ever growing preparations for war." In a few days agreement to lift the Berlin blockade is announced.

JUNE 1949

■ UNW reveals conversations between Gromyko and US businessmen and Kremlin's desire to increase US-Soviet trade. Soon after, US Commerce Secretary Sawyer and USSR President Shvernik stress major importance of expanding trade relations between the two countries.

JULY 1949

■ UNW prints inside stories about Gromyko and Vishinsky. They were quoted throughout the world. Like all UNW "firsts," these were the result of painstaking research, careful reading and analysis of hundreds of publications, radio intercepts and broadcasts as well as of interviews with statesmen, diplomats and high officials of the United Nations.

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United Nations
WORLD *Magazine*

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A UN World Exclusive on the rift that may ruin the Atlantic Pact:

The Crisis in Western European Unity

Inside Stories:

- Ana Pauker's Slush Fund
- Latino Exiles Form Political Maquis
- Stalin's Price for Peace
- Where Is Molotov?

NOW that East-West tensions have abated and war no longer immediately threatens, the Western world's solid facade of diplomatic accord is breaking up. The cracks and fissures are evidence of profound rifts and strains in Western Europe that up to now have been concealed by pronouncements supercharged with official optimism.

Today the oft-heralded Western European unity exists in only a negative sense. Unity among Western European powers is complete only for resistance—under US leadership—to any further political or territorial advances by the Soviet Union. On most other questions, Western Europe has made scarcely a move toward any real fusion of forces.

The British crisis crystallized all this uneasiness. The Labor Government, which on July 26 entered its fifth year of power, is faced with a three-front attack, and it will need the greatest skill, and more economic success than in the past, to extricate itself.

Attack No. 1 comes from inside the country. Conservative and Liberal forces feel that weaknesses of the Labor Government give them their first real chance to ask with some genuine hope of success for the vote of the average Briton. Whether the Conservative Party can regain power depends not only on the success or failure of the Labor Government but also on whether the Conservative Party will have a more convincing and attractive program to offer the people.

Today, according to independent diplomatic observers, the Conservative Party does not offer any attractive alternative.

Attack No. 2, which will make headlines in the near future, comes from important American industrial and financial groups. In Detroit, Pittsburgh and Cleveland, in particular, many leaders of industry and finance feel—and they will make their feelings known in Washington—that the time has come for the US to realize it cannot go on forever supporting a socialistic experiment in Great Britain. Some industrialists, in fact, are convinced that nothing effective can be done for Britain until the Labor Government is out of office. They emphasize that the British Labor Government has let the US down in two fields: first, in its internal economic policy, by sticking to a doctrinal rather than practical attitude; and, second, by signing bilateral agreements with Argentina and Russia, which are deeply resented in US industrial and financial circles.

There is, of course, a dissenting minority of industrialists who feel that Great Britain must be helped, whether it has a Labor Government or not, for otherwise the whole stra-

tegic concept based on Western Europe may be seriously endangered.

US businessmen in general are conveying to Congress and the Administration their resentment about the high cost of British products, the smugness of British bureaucracy, the extravagance of Britain's "cradle to grave" social security program, and the failure to retain old markets and develop new ones. On this last point, they particularly reproach the British Government for concentrating too much on production and all but disregarding packaging, advertising, and other marketing techniques for overseas customers.

Attack No. 3, which will come only indirectly, is due to long-standing sub-surface friction between Britain and some of the other Western European powers, especially France. Many diplomats state frankly that Sir Stafford Cripps' manner of dealing with representatives of other European countries has been hardly felicitous. Sir Stafford originally was greatly admired in other European governments, but his intransigence has cost him many a friend.

The sharpest clash came on June 23, at a meeting of Sir Stafford, French Finance Minister Maurice Petsche and Belgian Premier Paul-Henri Spaak. His French and Belgian colleagues tried to convince Sir Stafford that he must make some slight concession on the method of intra-European payments, but he flatly rejected any conciliatory effort. He was so bitter, nervous and aggressive in conduct that negotiations almost broke down on the spot. There was, consequently, a feeling of great relief, despite deep personal sympathy, when he fell ill. The prospect that he will be out of the picture for the next six weeks, at least, has raised hopes of getting along more easily with the British.

French anger over the brusque rejection of the compromise proposal on inter-European payments carefully drafted by M. Maurice Petsche, Finance Minister of France, was such that it forced other difficulties between France and Great Britain out into the open.

Personal relationships between members of the British and French Governments are cold, and limited strictly to the demands of protocol. Not a single deep personal friendship, binding any two members of these governments now exists despite the fact that both governments realize that the fate of Europe depends upon their cooperation.

Franco-British rivalry breaks into the open

France deeply resents that Great Britain regards her as the *enfant terrible* in the field of economics, and points with justifiable pride to her own greater strides in recovery.

The British Government, on the other hand, displays something akin to contempt for the economic methods of the French, and cannot understand how their apparent economic anarchy daily results in a bottle of wine and a sizeable portion of meat on the average Frenchman's table. A *bon mot* attributed to one of the highest French officials, illustrates the French attitude on this question: "France is making her comeback in complete anarchy, while England is going down in perfect order."

On the issue of the European Assembly, the French and other European governments had to fight Mr. Bevin stubbornly before he accepted the idea of establishing a relatively effective Council of Europe. But this Council, as a result of Mr. Bevin's stand, has much less power than the rest of the European countries had wanted it to possess.

On colonial matters, the two countries are also divided, especially in regard to the Arabs. In view of the Arab League's complete collapse and the British fiasco in Palestine, the French have been fortified in their belief that they can handle things better. They are using strong-arm methods in North Africa to maintain their hold, and are helping to place their favorites in power in other Arab countries. Thus the mystery behind the sudden accession to power of Gen. Zaïm, Syria's new dictator, can now be revealed as being due to the help of pro-French elements.

The problem of overseas rivalries has assumed such importance for both France and Britain that an emergency conference was called on July 5 in London. Two top officials —France's Roland de Margerie, and Britain's Michael Wright—were entrusted with the task of working out an agreement which would make it possible to maintain toward the Arabs a united front.

It is felt in European circles that such half-measures, however sincere, do not suffice, and that a complete integration of Europe has become indispensable.

The most responsible diplomatic circles in Europe are certain that, in the final analysis, looking at the matter not from a European or an American standpoint, but rather from the standpoint of the universal stake in democracy and peace—the success of the second half of the Marshall Plan, and of the Atlantic Pact itself, will depend on whether economic rivalries and jealousies, and nationalistic trends for which European Socialists and Conservatives are accountable, can be reversed.

They point to the fact that, now that the recovery process has progressed to a considerable extent, the new money from the Marshall Plan must be used to develop world trade, and not merely production machinery—lest, like the British, all Western Europe may one day find itself running at top speed with not enough people to whom to sell.

Likewise, the Atlantic Pact, and eventual armaments from the US, must be used not to strengthen any particular army of Europe, but to create mutually complementary components of a central armed force which, together with the US military, will discourage any aggressor in advance.

Despite these negative disclosures, European diplomats are rather optimistic, because they are convinced that the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact will ultimately produce that climate of security which will strengthen the UN and, therefore, the prospects for peace.

State of the World *continued*

One reason that the Kremlin is stepping up the tempo of its efforts to reach a modus vivendi with the West, is that it is having grievous troubles with various members of its Eastern European bloc. To Tito's defection has been added the new crisis in the Rumanian Communist Party.

Ana Pauker's Slush Fund

ANA PAUKER, Communist boss of Rumania and a co-founder of both the Comitern and Cominform, has been put on the Kremlin's suspect-list.

This dramatic development, which further complicates USSR's troubles within her own commonwealth, has resulted from exposures in a Swiss court trying one of her secret agents, Solvan Vitianu, for extortion and espionage.

Vitianu, a former employe of the "Orlanda Bureau," the economic section of the Rumanian C.P., had been sent to Zurich in 1947 as chief agent of the Rumanian Security Police, the "Siguranta." His mission was to put through important business deals with the help of the Rumanian Minister of Commerce; to spy on Rumanian nationals in Switzerland; to ferret out funds cached in Switzerland by wealthy Rumanians.

In one instance, a leather manufacturer, Mr. Samuel Karras, had to transfer to Vitianu a million dollar fortune, for a passport and $35,000-cash. In another case, in exchange for 300,000 Swiss francs, which he had in a Zurich bank, a Rumanian merchant, Mr. Sache Klein, was freed from a concentration camp.

Profits from such ventures were deposited in Swiss banks under the name of Vitianu for the *Rumanian* Communist Party.

Ever since Cominform beginnings, Moscow has vigorously imposed upon Communist parties of the satellite countries the principle that they must not set up independent accounts, and that all the assets of the Cominform must be handled by its central treasury in Moscow. The Vitianu trial unearthed the "criminal" fact that the dollars and Swiss francs he amassed were neither sent back to the Rumanian government—long starved for hard currency—nor transferred to the coffers of the Cominform. From the Cominform's standpoint, such failure to transfer funds is an act of treason.

That Ana Pauker knew and approved of Vitianu's transactions has been proven, among other things, by the fact that Vitianu had been granted diplomatic status by the Bucharest Foreign Office and that his closest collaborator during the past three years had been Ana Thoma. She is a member of Mrs. Pauker's inner circle and Secretary General of the Rumanian Foreign Ministry.

Among all the Communist leaders in the eastern countries, the Kremlin has regarded Mrs. Pauker as the most trustworthy and loyal follower of Stalin. Hence, the fact that Mrs. Pauker displayed her independen from the central leadership of t Cominform by encouraging Vitian to deposit funds in foreign banks f Rumanian Communist purposes h come as a great shock to Moscow. T Rumanian Communist leader w summarily ordered to report in Mo cow. Experts on the inner tensio and strifes of the Communist parti behind the Iron Curtain doubt th she will be able to exonerate hersel

Latinos Form Political Maquis

POLITICAL and economic cond tions in Latin America have d teriorated to such an extent that th majority of votes in the Organizatio of American States of which the Pa American Union is the central orga may soon be in the hands of mil tarists and dictators.

The US may then find itself in minority position in hemispheric a fairs since its parliamentary precept

WEATHER-VANE AT THE KREMLIN, *by Cobe*

oppose the garrison state methods by which military Juntas maintain themselves in power.

Today, Latin America's democratic leaders (many in exile in Montevideo, in Santiago, in New York and in Washington) have abandoned their traditional fear of North American intervention and are determined to call on the US Government and its people for help. Without that help, they believe that democracy may be extinguished in Latin America and thus threatened throughout the Western Hemisphere.

Prime mover in this pro-democratic offensive is the *Junta Americana Defensa de la Democracia*, with headquarters in Montevideo, Uruguay. This organization has become the rallying point for all democratic forces in Latin America. Among leaders of this drive are former President of Venezuela Rómulo Gallegos; the veteran Socialist Alfredo Palacios of Argentina; Enrique Santos, former President of Colombia; Manuel Seoane, former Vice President of the Senate of Peru; José Mangabeira, leader of the Brazilian Democratic Union and Governor of the State of Bahía; José Eduardo Prado Kelly, Eduardo Rodriguez Larreta, former Foreign Minister of Uruguay, and Carlos Pastore, Secretary General of the Paraguayan Liberal Party.

This group is headed by the Uruguayan Independent nationalist Juan Andrós Ramírez, and its Secretary General is Ernesto San Martino, one time Radical Party Senator in Argentina, and perhaps the most energetic crusader for democracy in all of Latin America.

Despite possible trade retaliations by Peron's Argentina, the *Defensa de la Democracia* is openly supported by the President of Uruguay, Luis Battle Barres, and covertly supported by the President of Chile, Gabriel Gonzalez Videla.

All of them are convinced that unless the US throws its moral and material weight on the side of democracy in Latin America, no democratic regime will be safe south of the US border. Extreme rightism, they argue, creates extreme leftism. They are convinced that the present military dictatorships are destined to fall and that, when they do, communism will succeed them. By contrast, democratic governments, despite all difficulties, can more effectively resist totalitarian attacks.

Stalin's Price For Peace

"What then is Mr. Stalin's price, Mr. Ambassador"?

"Price for what?"

"What I mean is, what is his price for what you people call East-West co-existence in a world at peace?"

THIS colloquy took place between a top-ranking American business man who is also a respected Republican, churchman and civic leader, and Andrei A. Gromyko, the young Soviet diplomat, in the latter's office on Park Avenue in the summer of 1948.

It occurred in the middle of a frank conversation—one of many Mr. Gromyko was holding with prominent Americans—about the chances of turning the cold war into a warm peace. These conversations were first revealed in the pages of United Nations World Magazine in its June and July, 1949, issues. It is now possible to round out these disclosures with the publication in detail of Gromyko's candid answer to the American's crucial question. Within an hour after leaving Gromyko's office, the American sat down almost verbatim the substance of their off-the-record talk.

Here follows a condensation of his 13-page memorandum:

The abrupt ending of Lend-Lease without warning, US support for Argentina's admission to the UN, and Anglo-American aid to reactionary Polish circles together reversed Stalin's pro-American attitude into one of suspicion and distrust.

Ever since February 1939 (the date of Litvinov's resignation as Foreign Commissar), Stalin belonged to a minority group within the top-most hierarchy of the Party who favored an understanding with the US. Siding with this minority were the majority of the Russian people, a mass feeling which Stalin always sensed.

The intellectual leader of the anti-US group was Ivan Maisky (one-time Ambassador to London and former

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State of the World *continued*

Deputy Foreign Commissar).

Stalin's faith in the US received a shock—and Maisky's theory was seemingly vindicated—by the sudden end of Lend-Lease. According to the record of UNW's informant, "the abrogation of Lend-Lease hit Russia more than it was ever suspected abroad. It virtually undermined her post-war economy and threw out of kilter carefully laid plans for industrial rehabilitation. Gromyko frankly told me that Stalin at first refused to believe the news when Molotov informed him of the brusque American note. He instructed the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, Nikolai V. Novikov, to ask for an extension to enable the USSR to initiate at least the first phase of its post-war recovery and was further shocked when Novikov told him that, in view of Washington's peculiar mood, no such extension could be obtained." [This ended Novikov's career in Washington.]

Stalin's suspicion froze into a weary distrust when Soviet applic tion for a US loan, designed to offs the loss of Lend-Lease, "got lost the State Department" and when t Department of Commerce, "upon e plicit instructions from the State D partment," began to embargo expor to Russia, especially of machine too and heavy industrial equipment.

Everything that happened since from the Fulton, Mo., speech Churchill to active cooperaton wi reactionary Europeans against t USSR—merely served to confir Stalin's own distrust and strengthe the hands of the Maisky anti-Amer can school.

According to Mr. Gromyko, Stalin present attitude could only be ove come by a series of tangible deed especially in the economic field. Stali views the Yalta and Potsdam agree ments as the two cornerstones of A lied cooperation in the post-war pe riod. In his belief, a large numbe of substantial Soviet concessions wer into the making of these agreements While he refuses to admit that an act by the Soviet Union has violate a single article of those agreements he charges that the US and UK com mitted wholesale violations of bot their letter and spirit.

The sum total of Stalin's price fo peace is this:

1. A treaty between the United States and the USSR, formalizing the commitments of both countries as set forth in the Yalta and Potsdam documents. As a supreme realist, he wants this to be a strictly bi-lateral pact, excluding the UK and countries of Western Europe which he dismisses as negligible quantities.

2. Four-Power unanimity on all questions concerning Germany. He will never give ground on this issue because be believes that a restoration of Germany, promoted by either the East or the West, acting alone, is certain to lead to war.

3. Western generosity on reparations for the USSR. While the Soviet Union urgently needs the "reparations in kind" which the Potsdam agreement earmarked for the

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Scene in Bruges, the "Venice of the North." One of Belgium's picturesque cities.

East, Stalin regards this issue as the token of Western recognition of the Soviet Union's enormous blood-letting in World War II.

4. Immediate cessation of US-UK support of "subversive Fascist and Hitlerite elements" inside the countries within the Soviet orbit, as well as those who gained admission to the nations of the West.

5. The elimination of all discriminatory trade practices on the part of the US and the resumption of normal trade relations, stimulated by a two-billion dollar loan on terms similar to those of the US loan to Britain, in 1946.

Although in the present atmosphere Stalin's terms may appear unduly stiff, Gromyko seemed convinced that they represented no unsurmountable obstacles to rapprochement once they are discussed in a spirit of mutual good-will.

Where is Molotov?

"Mr. Molotov is having NKVD trouble."

This cryptic remark of James F. Byrnes, made in 1946 upon his return from Moscow, is now revived in Washington as a possible clue to Molotov's present whereabouts.

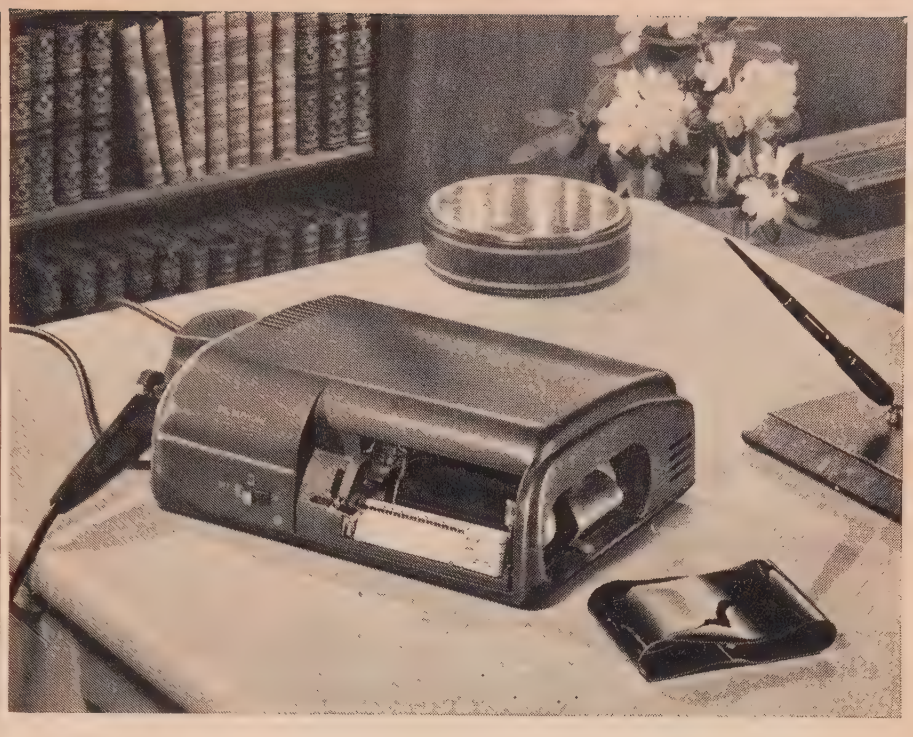
Today there is some reason to believe that Mr. Byrnes may have been both accurate and prophetic.

Two versions circulated about Molotov's fate since his sudden departure from the cabinet of the USSR.

According to one version, Molotov was demoted for the kind of "cosmopolitanism" which now irks the men around Stalin.

According to the second version, he has been promoted to the chairmanship of a newly created and all-important agency called the National Defense Council.

Whatever the rumors, the fact is that Molotov was conspicuous by his absence from such important state functions at Moscow as the funeral of Georgi Dimitrov and the Air Show at Telchin airfield.



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Weeds — or CROPS, America?

The farmer looked at his untilled acre.

"Nope," he said, "Won't stick a plow in there. Don't care if it *is* fertile—I just don't like the color of the soil."

So the weeds grew rank and spread their seeds to his other acres, fouling his cotton and stunting his corn. And his harvest was poor.

There are some who would do the same for America. They would neglect the cultivation of the minds of young growing Americans. They would set them apart, deny them equal advantages . . .

. . . because of their race, their name or their religion.

Stupid, isn't it, that anyone should want a weedy harvest?

For our own sake—for America's sake, we can all do three things to help the cause of unity:

1. Accept—or reject—people on their individual worth.
2. Don't listen to, or spread, rumors against a race, or a religion.
3. Speak up wherever we are, against prejudice, and work for understanding.

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August 1949

United Nations WORLD Magazine

A SURVEY OF OPINION BY THE EDITORS OF UNITED NATIONS WORLD

SIXTY SECONDS FOR GOD

Should UN meetings open with prayer or meditation?

EVER since the founding of the United Nations, the office of its Secretary General, Mr. Trygve Lie, has been virtually engulfed with letters—mainly from Americans—urging that mankind's highest international forum should open its sessions with appeals for divine guidance.

These requests have put the Secretary General in an extremely delicate, if not embarrassing, position. Proposals both for a 60 second period of prayer and for a kind of universal chapel are deceptively simple. But, in reality, they highlight the infinite complexity of our world, with its multiplicity of creeds, opposing ideologies, economic systems, and national traditions. Of the major religions in the world, there are 600 million Christians (339 million Roman Catholics, 128 million Eastern Greek Orthodox, and 136 million Protestants); 221 million Mohammedans, 300 million Confucianists, 150 million Buddhists, 230 million Hindus, 50 million Taoists, 25 million Shintoists, 12 million Jews and uncounted millions of agnostics and others, whether atheists or not.

The Secretary General is a practical and realistic man. The task of formulating a prayer that would represent a common ground for all believers, and yet not offend non-believers, was given long and careful study. As architects completed blueprints for UN headquarters, possible solutions to the problem have now been offered.

In dealing with this situation Mr. Trygve Lie demonstrated an authentic internationalism and respect for the sensibilities of each of the UN's 59 member nations. He devised two compromise formulas.

In the first he proposed to the Special Committee on Methods and Procedure that, in the opening session of each General Assembly, and perhaps for other meetings, the President—after calling the Assembly to order—proclaim the following: "The Assembly will remain silent for one minute which is dedicated to silent prayer and meditation and to the memory of those who have died for United Nations ideals."

In the second, he proposed to the Advisory Committee on UN Headquarters the construction of a special room reserved for prayer and meditation to be used by anyone, in utmost freedom and privacy. Since the UN includes peoples of virtually every creed and philosophy on earth, it would not be possible, Mr. Lie felt, to introduce a public or spoken prayer that would satisfy everybody.

The debate whether "to pray or not to pray" continues among supreme ecclesiastical authorities and the humblest laymen. This controversy is, in a sense, metaphysical. Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, for example, in discussing this subject with UNW editors, describes the process of prayer as "man's search for ultimate truth"—a quest which, in his view, has no proper place in the temporal deliberations of the UN. This same view is voiced by His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Professor C. E. M. Joad, of London University, recommends that an interval of silent meditation should precede sessions of the UN General Assembly. Siding with him are personalities as diverse as Frank Goldman, the president of B'nai B'rith, and

The common man from all walks of life in all parts of the world has been and remains deeply stirred by the issue of prayer and meditation in the UN. His concern is expressed in the innumerable letters addressed to the Secretary General as well as to the Editors of this magazine.

United Nations World magazine invites its readers and their families and friends to write in and express their views frankly on this vital subject.

60 Seconds for God *continued*

Clarence Pickett, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

There seems to be, moreover, a sharp geographical division between the advocates and the opponents of meditation in the UN. In UNW's survey to date, Americans seem generally to favor, while the British oppose, public demonstrations of a religious nature.

In the current issue, UNITED NATIONS WORLD magazine begins the publication of a series of communications it has received on this score from some of the outstanding spiritual and intellectual leaders of the Anglo-Saxon world, where Protestantism predominates. In subsequent issues, UNW will continue to survey opinion on this subject. It will publish the views of other areas and denominations, a cross-section of world religions and intellectual trends.

His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury

IT IS NOT easy to give an answer to your question which would be free from misunderstanding. One clearly wishes to avoid any insincere action by the Assembly of the United Nations and it is not easy to see how representatives so diverse in their religious views, and including some committed to atheism, would unite in an act of joint prayer to Almighty God.

One thing I think is quite clear. There should be no attempt to impose from outside upon the Assembly in this matter. Any such period of prayer or meditation could only rightly or fruitfully be adopted if the representatives themselves on the Assembly felt moved to it; and I should deprecate for myself any pressure upon them from outside.

Dr. Everett R. Clinchy

President, National Conference of Christians and Jews

I BELIEVE that UN sessions should be opened with a prayer. Three possible methods could be used:

1. A moment or two of silence in which each one could pray to his God. It should be made clear by the presiding officer of the session that this period is to be devoted to prayer.

2. An inter-communication system similar to the system of simultaneous interpretation already employed by UN could be established to enable the clergy of the different religions to offer the various prayers on which those attending a particular session could tune in.

3. Prayers could be offered in a series by representatives for the religions of the world—in short each session could be opened by a prayer from a clergyman from a different religious denomination.

George Bernard Shaw

NO PRAYER. There is no form of prayer that would satisfy Catholic, Protestant, Quaker, Jain, Moslem, Buddhist, Brahman, Agnostic, Atheist, Rationalist, Creative Evolutionist, Determinist, etc., etc., etc., or that would not intensely annoy some of them.

Meditation should occupy many years to qualify for membership of the Assembly. A silence under such a pretext would be supremely ridiculous.

The watchword should be Get to Business.

The Most Rev. Raymond A. McGowan

Director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference

THERE should certainly be prayer at United Nations sessions, but to calm the subtle western secularists among us and the forthright easterners, the prayer might be called "Meditation." The believers in God would have an opportunity to ask the help of God for their own work and for the collective work of the United Nations. The subtle agnostics and the open atheists could have a chance also to think about the order of things which God created, of personal dignity and interdependence—the order of things the world needs most to establish.

Let it be a period of silence. It is impossible now for the world to agree on a common prayer or a common meditation, either at the foot of the cross or at the grave of Christ's resurrection, both of which signal most man's dignity and man's interdependence. But let us go as far as we can.

Frank Goldman

President, B'nai B'rith

I AM NOT a theologian, but it appears to me eminently proper for the World Organization to open its sessions with a prayer, which may be in the form of a moment of silence, or in any other form found suitable. We meet in the United Nations to solve tremendous problems, to find a way for man to live with man in peace and brotherhood. I do not see how it is possible even to formulate that aspiration without having implicit in the very words a sense of the religious, a sense of dedication to the good and the right. That itself is prayer. For prayer to me is a

recognition of the principle of faith, and without the principle of faith—faith in ourselves, faith in the wisdom of our united efforts, faith in the ultimate efficacy of good works—our deliberations can be little more than a meaningless murmuring in a void.

Surely it is not amiss for us to set aside a moment which serves to heighten our awareness of the moral responsibility which is ours. I believe that when the representatives of fifty-nine nations bow their heads in reverence and for the space of a few heartbeats relinquish their temporal sovereignty and give themselves into the keeping of a power greater than themselves, in that moment they partake, however briefly, of the precious sense of the brotherhood of man. And I hold that to be the true objective of the people of the United Nations.

Viscountess Astor

I SINCERELY believe that the meetings of the United Nations General Assembly should be preceded with a few minutes of silent prayer followed by the Lord's Prayer which is a prayer for all mankind.

We want a united world and we can only unite on the basis of the brotherhood of man, and the brotherhood of man is possible only on the basis of the fatherhood of God. If we honestly desire this and desire it above all things; if we work and pray for it, we will sooner or later bring it about. There can be no prayer except through sincere desire and honesty.

James A. Farley

THE question of prayer in the United Nations is not without its importance for the layman whose interest and faith in the international organization do not exclude religious considerations.

I think that prayer has a definite place in UN deliberations. I think that the opening of the sessions with the Lord's Prayer would be quite satisfactory.

Martin Niemoeller

Kirchenpraesident in Germany

THERE is no doubt that the history of the world would have changed its course at many points if in our government buildings there had been places where one could have prayed for the decisions of the governments and which at the same time would have served as mute reminders that the responsible people are themselves responsible for their deeds to a higher Being.

Clarence Pickett

Executive Secretary, American Friends Service Committee

I BELIEVE that it is proper for the UN to open its sessions with prayer. I suggest that it might be feasible to have a silent prayer based on various texts for this purpose.

I have often seen groups where someone has referred to the grave issues to be considered during the forthcoming session and have seen the people attending these meetings make the outcome of the issue a matter of meditation and prayer. This does not force any one to accept any particular prayer.

C. E. M. Joad

Professor of Philosophy, London University

SHOULD the meetings of the United Nations General Assembly be preceded by prayers and/or a period of meditation?

By prayer, no. In the present state of the world prayers necessarily proceed from and reflect a particular religion, or some one particular brand of the same religion, and in the world as it is today, different religions and different brands of the same religion represent not the unity but the divisions of mankind. For example, Roman Catholics are required to refuse to attend the services of other religions; to refuse, therefore, to subscribe to or take part in worship expressed in prayer of other religions.

It is noteworthy that directly the human race begins to speak it begins to divide and to quarrel. This has been true ever since the Tower of Babel introduced differences of speech as a method of dividing and dispersing mankind. But silence belongs to us all and in silence our thoughts can unite—at least if they do not, we cannot know that they do not.

The Quakers have given the best examples of unity and service; of all the Christian denominatons it is to them that we owe the concept of meditation.

My conclusion is, then, that a period of silent meditation but not of prayer should precede the sessions of the United Nations Assembly.

Bertrand Russell

I SEE nothing in favor of it; but if it were adopted then all the religions of the world should be represented in turn, otherwise it would be contrary to the spirit of UNO.

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr

Professor, Union Theological Seminary

I AM sorry that I must disagree with many of the religious leaders of this and many other countries on this subject. I think it would be very nice if there were a possibility of expressing the ultimate concerns of the United Nations in prayer. It deals with very great issues on such a level that prayer might ideally be regarded as the only adequate expression of the final hopes and aspirations which underlie the United Nations enterprise. However, the world community is religiously more pluralistic than any national community. It lacks the common religious presuppositions which would make such a procedure possible. I think prayer is offensive if it is addressed to an assembly which is not, and cannot be, a worshipping community, for which the prayer is a genuine expression.

Chiang Ca

Fight His Way Back

A military estimate of his chances

By COLONEL CURT KONRAD ARNADE

Former Military Adviser on Strategy to the Government of China

AS ONE of China's top military advisers, it was my duty for many years to draw up strategic plans for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. They were designed to prevent a skilled and determined foe, the Japanese, from imposing his rule over the 2,906,475 square miles and the 457,835,475 peoples of China. It was a taxing and vexatious, and even, at times, oppressive task.

The peculiar circumstances of China at war confronted me with problems for which the famous texts of German and French strategists had no answers. Above all, I had to deal with contentious but complacent generals whose military prowess was in inverse ratio to their venality. They wasted incredible masses of men and money and material on capricious campaigns waged in the manner of medieval warlords.

But whatever the streamlined strength of the enemy, and whatever the tactical blunders of the Chinese military, the fact remains that China was not conquered. The country was saved from obliteration and more than that—it was brought to a military state in which the preconditions for an eventual comeback could be created. These preconditions made China a thoroughly troublesome but effective and loyal ally of the western democracies in World War II.

My experience in China has taught me an enduring lesson. Its implications should be pondered carefully today by those who frown upon the establishment of a Moscow-dominated Communist regime in the vast sub-continent of China. This is the lesson I learned:

The strategic decision can still be saved for Nationalist China.

- Despite the monumental deficiencies of Nationalist China's war-making capacity in material and moral means,
- Despite the grave political sins of the Kuomintang,
- Despite the apparent collapse of all defenses on the endless front from Manchuria to South China,
- Despite the timorous conduct and defections of some Nationalist generals and the immense tactical blunders of others, committed on a scale only the military map of embattled China can allow,
- Despite the apparent skill, discipline and determination of a homogeneous foe.

There is a quip, once popular among the military experts of Old Europe that may now be justifiably applied to China. We used to say that while in Prussia a certain military situation might have been desperate but not hopeless, in Austria it was hopeless but never desperate.

The attitude we attributed to the Austrians is most characteristic of Chiang's generals. It is partly responsible for the slipshod, haphazard and brutally inefficient manner in which the Nationalists of China have sought to achieve their own military salvation. It created a unique military philosophy of *laissez faire*, expressed by the war lord who ordered a ceremonial sabre from a swordsmith in Peiping with the Chinese equivalent of the western saying carved into its blade: "To live and to let live."

My own experience provides many episodes to explain in a most dramatic fashion the seemingly inexplicable failures of Nationalist arms. The cancerous growth that corroded the organism of Chiang's motley military establishment had its seat in its com-

Chiang's Way Back *continued*

mand structure and extended to all senior echelons, from majors and colonels to commanding generals. I can think of only three of the latter whom I would exclude: Generals Li Tsung-yen and Pai Chung-hsi, and the Generalissimo himself.

On several occasions I was given eloquent proof that the generals of Nationalist China never seriously intended to wage war in the manner known to us, but instead played at war as one would a game of chess.

For a time I was in charge of the engineering questions connected with defense installations and was, in fact, responsible for the building of strongholds against the Japanese. But my Chinese superiors had their own way of building these defenses. The first line, where they were supposed to stand or die, was usually the weakest of all, with a second, third and even a fourth line built simultaneously, allowing for what they grandiloquently called a defense in depth. The philosophy behind this was the philosophy of retreat—and it was carried into actual practice usually when the first barrage was laid down by enemy batteries, often when the first rifle bullet hit the outskirts of the first bunker. My efforts to demolish these vain fortresses and, with them, to destroy this disastrous mentality of defense by retreat met with a determination otherwise unknown in these placid and complacent men.

In a sense, many generals of Nationalist China are congenitally unfit to command modern armies. This is not because of any lack of potential ability or courage, but rather because they cling to an outmoded way of life which is hardly conducive to efficiency in modern warfare. Tradition is trump in Nationalist China, the customs and mores of a long-lost time are maintained in the face of airplanes and automatic rifles.

Much of my own striving to improve China's military strength was sadly frustrated by the emphasis on the traditional in the Chinese mode of life. Immediately before the outbreak of war, in the midst of a particularly critical diplomatic period, it became essential to prepare for important river crossings. I succeeded in persuading the Generalissimo to spend substantial sums on the purchase of sectional bridges and to allow me to train a select group of his commanding officers in their building and use.

The bridge sections finally arrived from Western Europe and orders went out to commanders in remote garrisons, and even in active front areas, to join me at a secret training ground to receive this important instruction. A young captain was selected as my interpreter and with him I worked for weeks, coaching him in the strange terminology, inventing new Chinese words and symbols, and devising a curriculum which he was to translate to my class of officers.

Everything was in order. Even representatives of the most outlying garrisons, some of whom had to spend five weeks in transit, arrived on time. Then only a few hours before we were to address the first class, my young captain asked to see me. "I am sorry, sir," he told me, "but I will have to leave you forthwith to visit my old mother who is seriously ill."

"That is impossible," I exclaimed. "I have the greatest sympathy for your mother's illness, but I cannot allow you to leave at this critical moment. You are the only one here who could act as my interpreter and without you the course cannot be held."

I could not persuade him. As I had no direct authority over him, I went to his commanding officer, who received my complaint with astonishment. "But Colonel," he said, "don't you understand? His old mother is seriously ill!"

I understood. Filial piety was triumphant over the military necessities of modern China.

Emergency is a relative term in Nationalist China. It is most important on the level of the individual. It has but slight urgency on a collective and even national level. I was made to understand this again in a rather disappointing manner on the eve of the battle for Nanking. This was undoubtedly the gravest defeat Chiang's armies suffered at the hands of the Japanese, with the saddest consequences to the unfortunate inhabitants who were abandoned.

UMBRELLAS ARE GOVERNMENT ISSUE FOR THE CHINESE 70TH ARMY

When the fate of the city appeared to be sealed, I was summoned to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and commissioned to devise a plan to save the capital. I had to work fast, with unreliable intelligence at my disposal, with a faulty estimate of the situation and an incomplete order of battle. But a plan was prepared, providing at least a remote chance to save the city.

I carried my plan to the general commanding a Nationalist army corps in the crucial sector in the Shanghai battle area and was, of course, shunted to his Chief of Staff. He greeted me with great formal courtesy. Maps were brought out, the stage was set and I lectured to him on the plan which he received with a frequent affirmative nod of his handsome head.

My lecture lasted for more than three hours and exhausted me completely both physically and mentally, when my host turned to me with the words:

"I am most appreciative of your efforts, but I'm afraid I won't be any use to you, since I have just been transferred to another command." A chief of staff transferred on the eve of a major battle is unorthodox even for China, but this was not what irritated me at this stage. "Why then," I asked, "did you allow me to proceed with my lecture and exhaust myself in a three hour effort?"

"Oh," my host answered with a bow, "it would have been most impolite not to listen to you." I looked for some one in sufficient authority to whom I could have entrusted my plan, but found none on the whole Staff ready to stay and defend the city.

"They are all relatives of the 'corps commander," I was told. "The custom is that when the head of the family is transferred to another command, he is followed by his relatives." In this case, it was the entire Staff of the army corps.

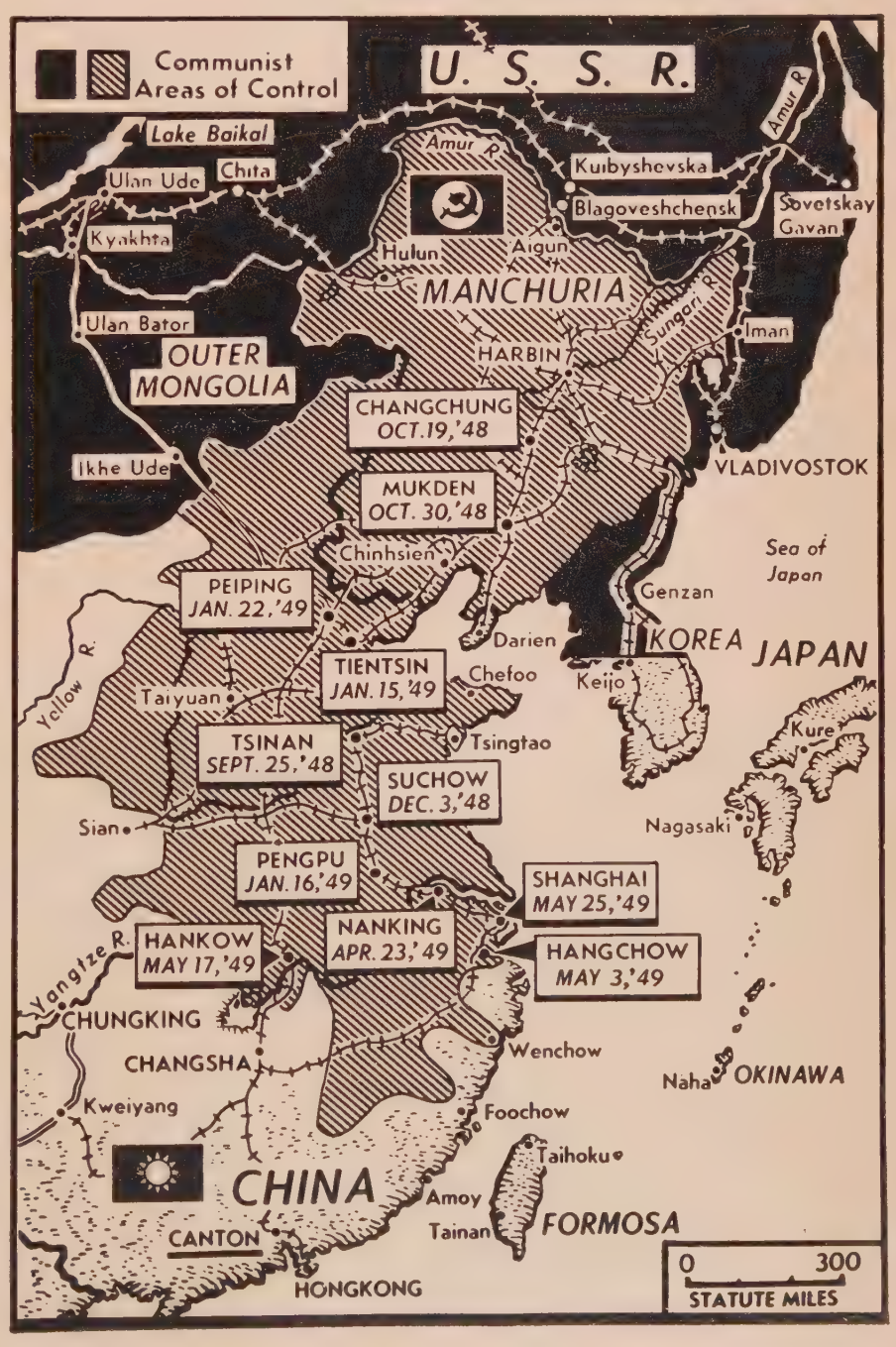
To such men there is no finality in defeat and no menace in the eleventh hour. Even today when the war has moved from the enigmatic and largely indefensible north into the strategic plum of the south, the meaning of collective emergency is scarcely understood. I wonder if they realize that their old perfunctory war game has reached its most serious and decisive stage and that the time has come to make, not a last ditch stand of which they are incapable, but at least a serious effort to stem the tide even though they may no longer be able to turn it.

And yet, a most careful study of the military situation in China, in which I combine the lessons of my service in the country with information available here, convinces me of the following facts:

1. Nationalist China's military situation is most critical but still today it could be redeemed.

2. The advance of the Communist armies could be halted through the application of a new strategic design and a large-scale reorganization of all forces on all tactical levels.

3. The Chinese are not capable of saving themselves and therefore aid



SINCE this map was drawn, late in July, the Chinese Communist armies have added an area of several thousand square miles to the territory they had already conquered.

Chiang's Way Back *continued*

from abroad is a *conditio sine qua non* of Nationalist successes even on a limited scale.

4. The form of this aid should be patterned after previous contributions but *all* Chinese should be excluded from controlling influence in its administration.

5. The financial size of the immediate military aid should not exceed $1.5 billion—in fact, my detailed calculation shows that $1,300,000,000 would suffice to turn the tide of the battle of China.

6. The purely military chances of Chiang to retain his hold over the present nationalist-controlled territories are far better than his political chances which means that he has to mend his political fences in order to score lasting victories even in the military field.

With these points in mind, I have prepared a detailed estimate of Nationalist China's military situation, somewhat along the lines of those I once prepared for Generalissimo Chiang's personal use. I have also drawn up a strategic operations plan for the possible defense of Southern China and even for certain limited offensive operations, with a few tactical ideas necessary for the execution of the operations plan.

ESTIMATE OF THE SITUATION

Around July 15, Communist armies commanded by Generals Lin Piao and Liu Po-cheng began their long-awaited southern offensive on a 400 mile front, in the direction of Nanchang, Changsha and Canton. At the time of this writing, the exact nature of the offensive is still unclear and the intentions of the Communist general staff are obscure. But I am certain that the center of gravity of the developing campaign—which may properly be called the Battle of China—will be in the provinces of Kiangsi and Honan. The basic tactical aims of the Communist armies are the capture of the Canton-Hankow railway, enabling them to isolate Fukien and the approaches to Taiwan (Formosa). They plan to march through Kwangsi province to the French Indo-Chinese border, close to the important railway town of Hanoi.

The success of this plan would effectively cut off the rest of China in the same decisive *Blitzkrieg* manner as the Nazis cut France in two when they marched to Abbeville.

To have captured Hanoi would have separated China from the seemingly impregnable north western provinces of Ningian, Tsinghai and Kansu, and the middle west with Szechwan and Yunnan. In fact, Communist victory in this campaign would bring the Civil War to a close and establish General Mao as the undisputed military ruler of virtually the whole of China, leaving the outlying provinces for future mopping-up operations.

For the execution of this grandiose strategic design, the Communists have available at least two full armies moving in three columns under joint command. They appear to be superbly equipped, highly disciplined, adequately trained—some of them freshly transferred from the vast drill fields of Manchuria, going through what may euphemistically be called their baptism of fire.

Opposing them are the demoralized remnants of the defeated Nationalist armies, substantially reinforced and bolstered by fresh troops from Kwantung, Kwangsi, Kweichow and Szechwan. The latter, under improved command, could be a match for Mao's armies. It should be borne in mind that the southerner in China is superior in intelligence, courage, initiative and patriotism to the backward northerner and that, for the first time, Nationalist armies will be called upon to defend richer provinces in which the common soldier has a recognized stake. His strength of character and higher intelligence make for better morale in the soldier of the southern armies, and enables him to resist Communist propaganda and promises.

Nationalist China's major war effort should now be concentrated on this delaying action, with the strategic aim to stop the advance of the Communist armies before they can break into Kwangsi and Fukien. The provinces of Nanchang, Hunan and Kiangsi may be sacrificed in the process, but substantial time must be gained in return for this sacrifice.

OPERATIONS PLAN

Strategic design: Determined delaying action on a gigantic scale in the huge foreland of the Communist territorial goal. No fixed fronts, but rapid, rubber band-like forays and maneuvers in Kiangsi and Hunan provinces to engage and pin down the main Communist forces there while the reorganization and offensive preparation of other Nationalist forces proceed along the eastern frontiers of Kwantung, Kwangsi, Kweichow and Szechwan provinces.

The reorganization and large-scale preparations in the middle provinces as yet free from immediate Communist interference must be aimed toward an offensive move in the not too distant future. This could change the entire complexion of the Civil War—at least in the south. This offensive, to be started against the flanks of the Communist armies from prepared positions along the Yangtze and the coast, should be limited in scope to save the south for the Nationalists, securing it as a springboard for future operations, the true magnitude of which cannot in the present emergency even be visualized.

Tactical designs: Nationalist China's existing military establishment, although contrary to popular belief still considerable, is totally inadequate to cope with the challenge of the Communists' southern offensive. While normally there would appear to be no time to carry out a radical military reorganization, the nature of the reorganization I envisage is such that it could be carried out with great dispatch.

1. There is to be created from among the elite of the available Nationalist troops a new military unit called Mobile Brigade consisting of four

battalions with four companies in each battalion. The total number of Mobile Brigades required in the present immediate emergency is twelve—each to consist of no more than 5,000 and no less than 4,000 men. Accordingly, the number of men I believe to be needed to present an effective opposition to the Communist masses need not exceed 60,000 combat effectives—supported by supply and reserve forces totalling 250,000 officers and men. Another 12 Mobile Brigades in semi-alerted condition should be maintained as an organized reserve, to provide replenishment for battle casualties to keep each brigade at permanently full fighting strength.

These Mobile Brigades would represent a major military innovation eminently adapted to the specific and immediate needs of Nationalist China. They would replace the cumbersome masses of men which Nationalist communiques grandiloquently describe as armies. Similarly the designation "division" has lost its meaning in China where it merely camouflages an impotent conglomeration of troops of approximately regimental strength, left entirely to its own resources, if any.

By contrast, the Mobile Brigades would represent strict military formations worthy of the name, in command, equipment, discipline and organization of supplies. Accent on the quality of these men and their weapons would replace the traditional and ill-fated Nationalist emphasis on quantity. While the De Gaullian concept of an *armée de métier* may not fit Chinese conditions as yet, its ancestor, General von Seeckt's *Berufsheer*-concept appears to be ideally suited, as proven by General Hans von Seeckt himself on Chinese soil.

2. The proposed equipment of these Mobile Brigades would represent as radical a change in China's traditional weapon doctrine as the departure from the mass army concept. The old military truism that only a proper equilibrium of mobility and firepower can assure success on the battlefield must be the guiding principle in equipping these brigades. It is essential to endow them with the greatest possible mobility consistent with general terrain in southern China, and to concentrate the greatest possible firepower in the hands of the individual soldier, as well as in the ground and air-borne artillery that is supposed to lend him support and protection.

Accordingly I suggest that no conventional troop carriers be used for the transportation of these brigades but that they be equipped with jeeps and motorcycles instead. While troop carriers could maneuver but slowly among the dense rice paddies of southern China, and frequently would be blocked by the low stone walls used to impound irrigation water, the jeeps and motorcycles could easily follow the borders of the paddies, and increase the impact of swift raids which should be the major tactical function of the brigades.

Machine guns of appropriate weight should be mounted on all vehicles assigned to these units. The men themselves, without a single exception, should be equipped with submachine guns and automatic rifles, to compensate for inadequacy in marksmanship. Their supporting ground artillery should have maximum mobility by means of self-propelled guns of medium caliber (from 37 to 88mm). The accent should be on mortars, the maintenance, combat servicing and supply of which places no special burden on troops. Some of the unorthodox new mortars designed by

THE AUTHOR AMONG HIS CHINESE STUDENTS

SITTING fourth from the left, front row, Colonel Arnade, the only Westerner present, poses with officers of the Chinese General Staff. In the center is Chiang Kai-shek for whom the Colonel prepared a grand strategy which the Generalissimo did not follow.

the Israeli Army would be particularly useful in China.

3. The air force of Nationalist China should be so reorganized as to duplicate in the air the tactical principles embodied in the Mobile Brigades. No heavy bombers are needed in China—certainly not to bomb the hapless people of cities and towns abandoned by Kuomintang troops, as in the case of Peiping, Nanking and Shanghai. The damage these young air force buccaneers did to the Nationalist cause with their safe aerial joyrides is in strange contrast to the military value of their missions which is nil.

Nationalist China would be best served if it would altogether disband its air force and organize an Air Corps for the sole purpose of ground-air co-operation with the Mobile Brigades. This Air Corps should consist of light bombers and strategic reconnaissance units, with adequate fighter protection concentrated in a few squadrons, as well as of an Air Transport Command for independent units of air-borne infantry. It should be recognized that Nationalist China is incapable of organizing and maintaining such an Air Corps and that its establishment should be left to non-Chinese nationals better qualified to organize, maintain and man a tactical air force.

The organization of this Air Corps is as crucial to National China's military success as is the establishment of the Mobile Brigades. Indeed, the two should be closely linked in command and use. The major task of the Air Corps is to provide an umbrella for the Mobile Brigades in action and to increase their firepower by acting as their aerial artillery. And above all else, the appearance of a disciplined air corps over the combat area would increase the morale of the new Chinese soldier, if only by an added feeling of security symbolized in the droning of the aircraft overhead.

The drama of China's tragedy gains appalling overtones when one is compelled to admit that the nation's own representatives are incapable of its defense. The sooner this fact is faced the better for all concerned. My knowledge of the Chinese High Command—and some of the generals are my former pupils—as well as my estimate of Generalissimo Chiang's military advisers, compel this conclusion.

Command Authority

It must be stated categorically that the senior officers commanding the Kuomintang Armies are too incompetent and too venal to deserve the trust, either of their own compatriots, or of the friends of Nationalist China abroad. One is inclined to paraphrase Clemenceau's famous saying, with added emphasis: "War is too serious a matter to be entrusted to Chiang's generals." Some of the generals with whom I had to deal and who today are reported in charge of armies and army corps lack the military know-how of an American sergeant.

This tragic deficiency is but partly explained by the innate shortcomings of *the* Chinese Major General, only too well known to require description here.

The Chinese general is a failure simply because he clings to wrong and outdated military doctrines. In this, one might perceive an unwitting revenge of the defeated Japanese—meting out retroactive punishment in the form of this military plague. For it was in the Japanese Military Academy of pre-World War I years that most of the commanding generals of today's Nationalist China—including Chiang himself—received their education.

When they were pupils on the benches of that Tokyo school, the doctrine of fixed defense installations was the fashion. Its merits had been proved by experience in the Boer War and in the Russo-Japanese war of 1905. But it was only a temporary answer to the appearance of the machine gun on the battlefield. Nevertheless it remained a permanent fixture in the minds of China's generals.

Even so, there is a Chinese officer corps to which the revitalized defense of Nationalist China could be entrusted. This group contains only two officers of senior rank—Generals Li Tsung-ten and Pai Chung-hsi. But it abounds in young officers whose skill, intelligence and patriotism offer guarantees for success.

Therefore I suggest that the command authority in Nationalist China be vested in a control committee composed of general officers from the Western democracies, loaned to China rather than detailed as representatives of their own military forces.

The number of these high-ranking officers to be loaned to China need not be great, nor need their term of service be protracted. But it is important that only men be sent to China who know as much about the psychology of the Chinese people as they do about military science.

Last but not least, the question of costs may be raised in connection with my strategic plan. In preparation for this article, I made extensive surveys and calculations, with the following conclusions:

1. The establishment, equipment and one year maintenance of the Mobile Brigades would cost $50,000,000 per brigade, representing a sum of $600,000,000 for the 12 envisaged in this survey.

2. The establishment, maintenance and supply of the organized reserve, and of the other services of the Chinese military establishment would require an added budget of $400,000,000 for one year.

3. The establishment, maintenance and supply of the projected Air Corps would cost $350,000,000.

4. Accordingly, I estimate that $1,350,000,000 would be sufficient to reorganize the Chinese military establishment, create a new and effective fighting force, and maintain it in combat for at least a year.

This sum is identical with the one asked for Western Europe's military aid program under the Atlantic Pact. While it is doubtful that it will be sufficient in Europe, I am convinced that it would (or could) work miracles in China.

ELBA

Ghost Island of the Mediterranean

By CESAR SAERCHINGER

LAST summer, when I was in Rome, American friends invited me to come and spend a quiet week on the delectable isle where the Emperor Napoleon spent his exile between his first abdication and the thundering Hundred Days. My friends are, so far as I know, the only Americans who own a house on Elba. It is on the shore of the little Bay of Procchio, and it has a private beach, a little vineyard and a magnificent view on the Tyrrhenian Sea.

There are a few other "foreigners" on Elba—a British journalist gone native, an Austrian conductor without an orchestra, a retired Italian admiral—but otherwise the island is inhabited exclusively by the 30,000-odd Elbanos whose ancestors have lived there since the days of the Etruscans, long before imperial Rome. Elba is truly the ideal place to "get away from it all," to live in blissful ignorance of world news until it is no longer news. For on Elba the day's big story is which wind is blowing—the fresh maestrale, the languid sirocco, or the bracing tramontana which can blow steadily for a week and whip up a surf worthy of Far Rockaway on a rough day.

I confess I had to look for Elba on the map before I accepted the invitation, and the man at American Express spent the better part of an hour figuring out connections that would get me there in a single day. True, the island lies only seven miles off the Italian mainland ("the continent," as the natives call it); but the morning train out of Rome manages to miss the morning boat from Piombino to Portoferraio, Elba's capital and principal port. So, in case you plan to visit Elba, the better ap-

THE EAGLE still stands watch over the Villa San Martino which Napoleon once chose for his unpretentious residence.

ELBA

Ghost of the Mediterranean *continued*

proach is from the north, via Leghorn, where an excellent bus service connects with an equally excellent steamer service twice a day. Or, better still, bring your own motor car and take it along on the boat.

Now—to get the geography straight—Elba is the largest of the Tuscan Islands, a chain which also includes Giglio and storied Montecristo. In reality it is the topside of a sunken mountain range stretching from Tuscany towards Corsica. Its surface is a turbulence of mountains and hills, with hardly a square kilometer of flat land. Only 19 miles long and averaging 6 miles across, its highest peak rises to 3,350 feet. You might search all the coasts of Italy and France without finding anything so dramatic as the Elban coastline, rising sheer out of an incredibly blue sea. Where it isn't rocky, the shore is dotted with sandy beaches and beachlets edging cozy little bays. Clustered around the bays, and glued to the mountainsides, are ancient villages with streets like narrow dark canyons, and stone stairways leading up to chapel or village square.

The beauty of Elba's landscape is such that one can accept the record—so contrary to general belief—that Napoleon voluntarily chose this paradise for his exile. From the heights, also, of course, he could see his native Corsica . . . and Elba is conveniently near to the coast of France. The Allied Powers of that day obligingly ceded the island to him with full rights of sovereignty. Hence, from May, 1814, to February, 1815, he ruled the island as a monarch, holding levees, audiences and military reviews, issuing decrees.

These 10 months were Elba's period of "national independence," and "Napoleon the Great" is the Elbano's secular patron saint. A large marble tablet over the main portal of Portoferraio's 16th-century town hall commemorates the inauguration of Napoleon's government. A more recent tablet, much lower on the façade, recalls the restoration of civil liberty "after 20 years of fascist oppression" under Mussolini.

My guide pointed out the older tablet with ostentatious pride, but ignored the newer one completely. My guide, incidentally, was no less than Dr. Alfio Canto, Elba's *commissario* of police, and a colorful character. "I am the boss around here," he explained to me in fluent Italo-American learned in the Chicago public schools.

The *commissario* next took me to the tiny Church of the Misericordia, where the Faithful of Elba foregather every May 5 to attend a high mass said for the Little Corporal's soul. There he pulled aside a velvet curtain and from a coffin draped with a faded flag withdrew the bronze replica of Napoleon's death mask, shown only on rare occasions. "A great man," he whispered, "a genius. In the words of Mussolini, an eagle who spread his wings on the soil of France."

After lunch at the Elban Bee Hotel (the Ape Elbano), named after the emblem which Napoleon chose for the national flag, we visited the Palazzina dei Molini, the emperor's official residence, and then drove out into the surrounding hills (all of three and a half miles) to his summer palace, the Villa Napoleone. There the great man used to take his ease, and feast his friends in a simulated Egyptian hall, with murals personally inscribed *ubicunque felix Napoleon.* As we stood on the terrace of this miniature Fontainebleau, from which a huge Napoleonic eagle carved in stone looks out over the land, the *commissario* murmured: "*Tempi gloriosi passati*" — glorious days of the past!

Perhaps I should add that the *commissario,* like quite a few other postwar Italians, is a member of the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement. But for the present he is a valiant supporter of Premier de Gasperi's Christian Democrats.

Making due allowance for the *commissario's* histrionics, the local hero worship of Napoleon also has its practical side. For, apart from its scenery and its climate, Elba's past is its most promising asset. These are the essential ingredients of a budding tourist trade, which realistic Elbanos consider their promise of future prosperity. They expect *turismo* to fill the gap left by the decay of Elba's ancient industry, the mining and smelting of iron.

From time immemorial almost the only iron found in or near Italy came from the strata and pockets in Elba's limestone rocks. Iron was the economic *leitmotif* of Elban history from 453 B.C., when a Syracusan squadron devastated the island, to 1944 A.D., when American and British air squadrons bombed the Altiforni, the blast furnaces of Portoferraio, almost to smithereens. In Roman times the poet Virgil sang the praises of Elba's "inexhaustible metallic riches." Up to World War II it still produced 90 per cent of Italy's native iron, some 500,000 tons a year. But since the destruction of the famous Altiforni, though ore is still being mined, it is sent to the continent as is. Portoferraio—Iron Port—no longer lives up to its name. It is an economic casualty of the war, and according to local communists of the Marshall Plan.

Paradoxical as it seems, this assertion may not be wholly devoid of truth. It is true that the Altiforni are virtually beyond repair. It is true that their owners have made no effort to rebuild them. What they did do, by order of the government, was to keep a so-called maintenance crew of 800 men on full pay for four years, in the expectation of eventual gov-

IN REMEMBRANCE of Napoleon's flight to France under the cover of the night, funerals on the Island of Elba are always held at midnight. The lengthy and elaborate funeral ceremonies are performed by robed participants (above) who carry torches, lamps, a wooden crucifix and other symbols. The picture below represents a native woman in mourning who hangs two votive lights on a marble commemorative tablet.

ernment or ECA help. The help didn't materialize, and last summer, while I was there, the works closed down for good and the 800 boondogglers were thrown out of their jobs.

Of course, the Altiforni had long been obsolete and uneconomic. However essential they may have been to Mussolini and his "glorious" wars, it could have little charm for ECA administrators. But to the people of Portoferraio the final shutdown was a catastrophe. They understood little about industrial efficiency. All they knew was that the 800 wage earners had kept a large part of the population alive and the shopkeepers out of the red.

When, for the first time in its long history Portoferraio ceased to be an industrial town, a rash of communist posters appeared on the walls, denouncing the capitalists, the corrupt politicians in Rome, and American imperialism in the familiar Moscow terms. There was a one-day "general strike," and one dismissed ironworker, father of five, flung himself from the Forte Stella, an ancient fort on the highest rock overlooking the town. All the workers of Portoferraio followed his coffin to its grave. The rest of the citizens went silently about their chores, while only the summer visitors continued to sip their *cinzano* or their *caffé espresso* on the age-old pavements of the Piazza Cavour.

This macabre incident and its calamitous background provide a clue to the incongruous political coloration of Elba which, up to the last election, was predominantly red. Even in the Christian Democratic landslide of 1947 the communists lost Portoferraio by just 10 votes (in a population of 7,000). And nearly half of the rural population of Elba voted communist, not because the Elban peasants are convinced Marxists but because they are very poor. Most of them live by fishing (tuna and sardines) and by growing grapes and making wines, which they fervently believe to be the finest in Italy. These occupations bring into the island barely enough to supply the populace with a minimum of basic necessities, such as clothes, pasta and oil.

ELBA *continued*

Little wonder, then, that the Committee of Elban Progress has decided to concentrate on the island's intangible assets of sunlight, scenery and Napoleon—and *turismo*. This year the new industry is having its first, though modest, boom. Thus far the tourists have been mainly Italians who have only recently discovered that Elba is ideal for sea fishing, bathing, sailing and mountain climbing. Every boat arriving from Piombino disgorges hundreds of holiday makers from Florence, Pisa, Milan, Turin and Rome.

The prosperous few bring motor cars. Many bring tents. All bring fishing tackle—everything from nets and rods to underwater guns, a modern refinement which appeals to some Italians. The tents are the real novelty, for most Italians have learned about camping only since they no longer can afford hotels.

Hotels are few and far between. The Ape Elbana and a few others are of the variety described as "plain but good," and every village has its *trattoria*, pretending to be no more than plain. There is just one luxury hotel on Elba. Calculated to cater to the fastidious, the lovers of grandiose scenery, and to people with a penchant for lurid romance, it is the "Palace Hotel Fonte Napoleone." The name derives from a nearby mountain spring at which the exiled emperor is supposed to have refreshed himself, thus "shedding all bodily ills before resuming the path of glory" (says the marble tablet set up there, which tactfully avoids all mention of Waterloo).

Not far from this romantic spot is still another Napoleonic abode—a mountain retreat 2,000 feet up on the slopes of Monte Capanne. Here the great conqueror had the last flare-up of his affair with the beauteous Countess Walewska who brightened her imperial lover's exile for two days only, after which she was sent packing, in a melodramatic storm of wind and rain.

This piquant episode on the backstairs of history, already exploited by Hollywood, has prompted an enterprising syndicate headed by Sig. Guiseppe Cacciò to launch the island's most speculative venture in *turismo* to date. These fanciful entrepreneurs after developing (at the cost of untold millions of paper lire) the luxurious Palace Hotel, have added thereto two elegant snuggeries brazenly labeled Casetta Napoleone and Casetta Walewska. They have also established, on the premises, a bottling plant for the distribution of water from the Napoleonic fountain, thus making available its restorative benefits, for the price of a few lire per bottle, to all and sundry in Italy and beyond.

Last year the hotel stood almost empty, though it did lure one glamorous contingent of Parisian Rothschilds, who arrived in a motorcade of Cadillacs. This year it is the center of Elban high life.

But the enterprise of the Cacciò syndicate is not, perhaps alas, being matched by the population in general. *Turismo* remains an untilled field. The Elbano has behind him some 25 centuries of isolationist tradition and, though friendly to strangers, he is not yet acquisitive in his attitude toward them.

There is no Florida boom on Elba, though ardent boosters are saying that Elba is the future Capri—and five times as big. Besides, one is assured, Capri has been "spoiled" by outsiders, while you can still live quietly on Elba without listening to *O Sole Mio* and the nightly twanging of commercially sponsored guitars. Also, there are no "American bars"—as yet.

Nothing, in fact, today disturbs the wild beauty of Elba's landscape, the grandeur of its mountains, the solitude of its terraced gardens, and the brilliant azure of its sea and sky. Without doubt, it could become a tourists' paradise. It *would*, if its inhabitants were Swiss.

Strange as it seems this picture of smoke stacks is the cover of a pamphlet published to encourage tourist trade on Elba.

WHEN Countess Maria Walewska arrived at Elba on the night of September 1, 1814, she came with the hope that she might share Napoleon's exile forever.

Napoleon and Walewska had met seven and a half years before in Warsaw. She was 18, blonde, petite, graceful, and married to a man past 70. The Emperor of France fell in love with her irresistibly. Out of their romance a boy was born in 1810. But, for reasons of state, Napoleon had married Marie Louise, the frivolous Hapsburg princess a few months before the birth of Countess Walewska's baby.

Now, in 1814, Napoleon had lost his throne. His wife tarried in Vienna to flirt with the handsome Count Neipperg. His son, the King of Rome, was being transformed into an Austrian. Yet the Emperor was still determined to maintain his family ties with the Hapsburgs with all the advantages they might mean. When the Countess poured out her heart and voiced her desire to stay with him, Napoleon shrugged his shoulders. "Impossible," he replied.

Walewska finally understood that her fate was to remain that of the "second woman" forever. Instead of insisting, she resolved to leave Elba the same night.

She died three years later, at the age of 28—an exile *from* Elba.

On the fourth anniversary of Hiroshima

Admiral Zacharias reveals

The A-Bomb Was Not Needed

THE INSIDE STORY OF NIPPON'S SECRET PEACE BIDS

THROUGH VATICAN CITY AND THE KREMLIN

HISTORY seems to be having difficulties in catching up with its abundance of facts. In the January issue of *United Nations World*, I made an effort to accelerate the process by disclosing a series of events which motivated decisions at the Yalta Conference.

My data and documentation were eagerly accepted by such diverse publicists as the editors of *The Nation* and Mr. George Sokolsky of the New York *Sun*.

On the other hand, they were criticized by others, including an official of the Far Eastern Commission and Mr. Raymond Swing, by inference, in the New York *Times* Magazine.

Their chief objection to my thesis was succinctly expressed by Mr. Swing when he put the question: How could advocates of a different course of action at Yalta know in February that Japan would surrender in August?

I have been long tempted to answer such critics by releasing additional facts no longer in the "classified" category. I have delayed doing this, not for lack of information or need for greater historical perspective, but for one reason only: my own hesitancy to revive a controversy involving a crucial moral issue that far transcends the circumstances of Japan's surrender per se.

This controversy revolves around whether or not it was necessary or wise to make use of the atomic bomb against Japan, thus introducing this horrible weapon into the conduct of international relations.

If today I propose to answer this question to the best of my ability, it is not because I am keen on correcting any critics. It is merely to apply whatever knowledge I have on this score toward the clarification of a blurred picture.

THE AUTHOR

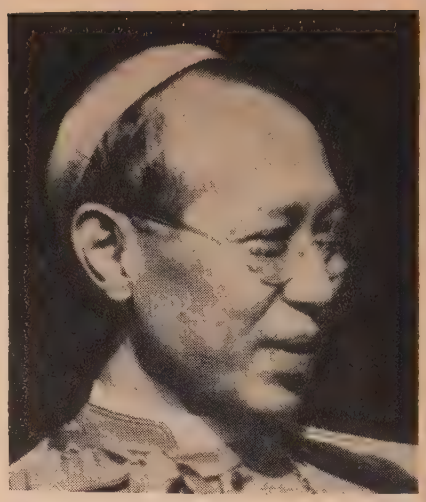
ADMIRAL ELLIS M. ZACHARIAS,
Wartime Deputy Director of the Office of Naval Intelligence

In doing so I have attempted to avoid conclusions. I prefer to let the facts speak for themselves. I am certain that the great debate will continue with its pro and con factions undaunted by new facts and arguments. But I hope that objective historical research will benefit from these additional revelations. E. M. Z.

The opinions and statements contained in this article are the private ones of the author, and are not to be construed as official or as reflecting the views of the Navy Department or of the naval service at large.

THE PONTIFF
His Holiness conveyed Emperor Hirohito's frantic appeals for peace to Washington.

THE DIPLOMAT
Harold Tittmann, Myron C. Taylor's assistant, kept wartime vigil in the Vatican.



THE ARCHBISHOP
Tokyo's prince of the Church acted as the Shintoist Emperor's adviser and confidant.

The Inside Story:

Nippon's Five Secret Peace Bids

WHAT I regard as history's most remarkable diplomatic maneuvers in the interest of peace preceded Japan's unconditional surrender, whose fourth anniversary is celebrated by an uneasy world on August 15. These maneuvers could have assured the cessation of hostilities before the first atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, before the USSR entered the Pacific war, and even before our invasion of Okinawa in the early spring of 1945.

By June 1945, top-secret negotiations were so far advanced that those few of us who were in possession of all facts confidently expected Japan's surrender at any moment. In a secret estimate of the situation I submitted to the late James Forrestal early in July, I committed myself without equivocation by stating that Japan would "surrender within six weeks." At that time I did not even suspect the existence of the A-bomb.

Despite the outstanding contribution that this wartime diplomacy made to the cause of peace, its role in ending the Pacific war has long been obscured. One factor responsible for this was inherent in the manner in which these great diplomatic maneuvers had to be conducted. Not more than ten persons played an *active* role in the negotiations outside Japan. They worked in six countries. They were separated from each other by immense distances, by acute and conflicting national interests, by ideological differences, and by faulty wartime communications.

These ten men were the Emperor of Japan and the Catholic Archbishop of Tokyo; His Holiness the Pope and Pietro Cardinal Fumasoni-Biandi, in charge of the Vatican's *Congregatio de propaganda fide*; Mr. Harold Tittmann, a brilliant American diplomat stationed in Vatican City; Generalissimo Joseph V. Stalin and Foreign Minister Viacheslav M. Molotov; Japanese Ambassador Sato in Moscow; Foreign Minister Togo and his agent, a Japanese newspaperman named Jiro Taguchi, who worked in Berne. Their efforts remained uncoordinated and futile until VE-Day when President Truman assumed active leadership of this political warfare campaign. Not even the President, despite his outstanding contribution to this peace drive, carried it to its logical conclusion.

Only a fragmentary picture has been heretofore available of these widely scattered moves and of their effect on the outcome of the war. Some of the accounts published are designed to obscure rather than clarify the issue. But here are the facts as they became known to me during those crucial summer days in the Washington of 1945.

On December 24, 1944—seven months and fifteen days before the A-bomb was released over Hiroshima—American intelligence authorities in Washington received what appears, in retrospect, to be an amazing Christmas gift. A secret diplomatic agent known by the cover name of Dolphin* reported in detail a complete about-face inside Japan. According to his dispatch, a powerful peace party was gradually emerging from the ruins of war. The Cabinet of General Koiso, a puppet of the war party, was soon to be overthrown by the peace-makers and elder statesman Admiral Baron Suzuki was to form a new Cabinet.

The importance of this Dolphin report was difficult to exaggerate. It conveyed to us the intelligence that:

*All cover-names have been changed to prevent identification of the codes originally used by the actors of this drama.

THE DOWAGER EMPRESS

Hirohito's brilliant mother secretly promoted the peace efforts of her hapless son.

THE HERO

Commander Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., USNR, was prepared to play his greatest role.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER

Togo-san of Tokyo staked his head on the success of his secret agent in Switzerland.

1. The Emperor of Japan was himself behind the powerful group of peace-makers;

2. Admiral Suzuki would initiate secret negotiations preparatory to surrender;

3. An Imperial Prince would eventually be named Premier to carry out the surrender terms. "This Imperial Prince," the report stated, "will be Prince Higashi Kuni. He has agreed to head a surrender Cabinet and carry out the capitulation. The group itself includes top-ranking officers of the Navy and is under the Emperor's personal direction.

"This group is sufficiently powerful to effect the cessation of hostilities at the psychological moment and is, in my opinion, capable of persuading the country to accept and observe Allied surrender terms."*

Despite the implications of the report, Dolphin's message failed to stir Washington to action. His dependability was unquestioned, but his report appeared to be too good to be true. His dispatch was therefore given the high reliability rating of "A" earned by his record as a confidential informant. But its probability was rated "5"—lowest on the scale of intelligence evaluations.

When the report reached the Office of Naval Intelligence, it experts on Japan protested this amazingly low probability rating. In their view, bolstered by the superior intelligence data the Navy traditionally accumulated on Japan, the Dolphin report deserved attention and action.

But several efforts of ONI to drum up interest in the report remained futile in the face of prevailing Washington determination to accept only pessimistic intelligence reports whenever prospects of termination of hostilities by non-military means were discussed. Combined with this doctrine was the probably subconscious desire of the highest echelons to test a new weapon in actual combat. At that time this new weapon was merely the goal of chosen scientists working behind the sealed gates of Oak Ridge, Hanford and Los Alamos. It was, of course, the atomic bomb.

The rating of the Dolphin report remained unchanged for three months. An "A-5" report is not likely to carry much conviction or to arouse more than just passing interest. It was filed and almost forgotten—until March 22, 1945, when the Koiso Cabinet submitted its resignation to the Emperor and Admiral Baron Suzuki was actually named to form the new Imperial Cabinet.

The Dolphin dispatch was confirmed in part. Its existence was recalled in ONI's Special Warfare Branch, an agency devoted to the preparation of psychological warfare against the Germans and Japanese. The document was lifted from the limbo of the filing cabinet. Its probability rating was upped to an uncertain "3" and plans were made for what in Washington parlance is called "implementation."

Concealed behind this cover name Dolphin was a top-ranking diplomat of a neutral European country who secretly worked for the Allied cause inside Japan. He was one of three principal informants of the Allies. Another was a counselor of the Nanking government's embassy in Tokyo, an alleged collaborationist with excellent contacts in the highest political circles. The third was a Scandinavian diplomat who enjoyed the confidence of the Dowager Empress, Hirohito's mother.

Although they had to operate independently and without outside aid, these diplomatic agents represented the highest type of intelligence "net" any belligerent could desire. They were responsible and sincere men, working without remuneration, motivated only by their faith in, and devotion to, the Allied cause. Their work was feasible only in the guise of diplomacy, for diplomats alone had relative freedom of movement as well as access to confidential information trickling through strict wartime censorship to the few remaining missions in Japan. Although restricted in the use of ciphers, they were still allowed to send couriers out of Japan, traveling via Russia's "neutral" Trans-Siberian railway to an embattled Europe.

*This is a carefully paraphrased version of the passages in the original dispatch.

Nippon's Peace Bids *continued*

The reports of these diplomatic informers reached the Allies infrequently and only through intermediaries. No direct contact was maintained between our intelligence agencies and the diplomats in Tokyo.

Dolphin, in my opinion, was the most ingenious of the three diplomatic agents. He had already established his reputation in 1943 when he transmitted the transcript of the minutes of a momentous Japanese Cabinet meeting. The decisions reached at that meeting included a shake-up in the Japanese High Command, to be followed by an all-out attack in the direction of Chungking to liquidate the war in China. The Japanese hoped that total victory on the continent would release their forces for the Pacific theater where the tide was then beginning to turn decisively against them.

The Great Expectation

The report of Dolphin was recognized for all it was worth and brought to the attention of President Roosevelt, who ordered extensive aid sent to China. American diplomacy was set in high gear to keep Generalissimo Chiang in the war regardless of possible military setbacks. Prompt military and material aid helped China to withstand the Japanese campaign when it was unleashed a few months later and to restrain Chiang's advisers who urged the conclusion of a separate peace with Tokyo.

Despite this precedent, President Roosevelt was never shown the Dolphin report of December 1944. By the time the accuracy of its intelligence could be appreciated, the President was incommunicado in Warm Springs, moving with tragic rapidity toward his sudden death on April 12. If the information contained in the Dolphin dispatch—that Japan was determined to cease hostilities even at the cost of unconditional surrender—had been accepted as accurate by its recipients, if the implications of this information had been impressed on the flexible mind of the President, the course of events from Yalta to Tokyo might have been entirely different.

Those of us who had access to the Dolphin report and accepted the accuracy of its intelligence implicitly, regarded it as the definitive word concerning Japanese intentions. Thus we *did know in February 1945 that Japan was ready to surrender and we did expect it to happen several months before it did.*

Even though the Dolphin report was the first definite intimation from Tokyo of a change of heart in Japan, it merely confirmed opinions independently held in the United States by at least three students of that country. In contrast to widely held views that "Japan would never surrender," and in contrast to estimates which fixed S-Day for Japan in 1946 and even in 1949, these students regarded early Japanese capitulation as a distinct possibility. They urged that American political warfare be intensified to hasten the end.

One of these students was Colonel Alfred McCormack, head of a strategic intelligence bureau attached directly to the office of the Secretary of War. The other was Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., the distinguished motion picture actor, at that time serving on Admiral King's staff in Washington after a gallant career at sea, as one of the very few reserve officers attached to COMINCH. A very small group within the Navy Department, which included Lieutenant Commander John Paul Reed, USNR, the author of a classic on Japanese psychology; Lieutenant Dennis G. McEvoy, USMCR, the brilliant young editor; Dr. Joseph Yoshioka, and Mr. Ladislas Farago, my chief of Research and Planning, represented the only other source of such views.

This group, working under my direction, was destined to carry out at least that part of the psychological campaign which Washington allowed to be waged concurrently with purely military operations.

Colonel McCormack introduced unorthodox methods of intelligence which enabled him to cull vital information even from open sources available to all. Toward the [illegible] he and his associates obse[illegible]d [illegible]tinct change of tone in all [illegible]mun[illegible]cations out of Tokyo, [illegible]dicating [illegible]veiled intentions to lay at least the groundwork for armistice negotiations.

Colonel McCormack reported his discovery to Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy and presented him with a plan in which he outlined the means by which Japanese overtures could be exploited through diplomacy. This recommendation was forwarded to the Joint Chiefs of Staff but it was shelved there for reasons only the Joint Chiefs are competent to disclose.

Almost simultaneously in San Diego, Calif., where I had just arrived from the Pacific theater to serve as Chief of Staff of the 11th Naval District, I reached identical conclusions. I based them on my knowledge of Japanese psychology and my acquaintance with some key figures in Japan's political and military circles.

I always believed that Japan would not fight to the bitter end. When in June-July 1944, by the simple process of monitoring many Japanese broadcasts, I discovered that several prominent Japanese political and naval leaders known to be opposed to war against the US reappeared on the stage after a period of involuntary exile.

The Fairbanks Plan

This convinced me that the time was becoming ripe for a bold psychological move. My findings were communicated to Elmer Davis, then director of the Office of War Information, and to the Secretary of the Navy. Shortly after I gave these reports to Washington, orders came to follow them in person. I was encouraged to draw up a definite operations plan for psychological action against the Japanese High Command. My plan, too, was submitted to the Joint Chiefs, together with another, a "Strategic plan to effect the occupation of Japan without the necessity of invasion."

Meanwhile Lt. Cmdr. Fairbanks had submitted to Admiral King the outline of a romantic, ambitious project. In his top-secret memoran-

dum Mr. Fairbanks suggested that Allied agents be landed from submarines in Japan, contact the Dowager Empress whom he knew personally and well, and whom he represented as anxious to end the war, and then organize a group which could conduct surrender negotiations under the Emperor's authority.

The boldness of this plan was in inverse ratio to its feasibility. It was the kind of war plan in the diplomatic field which had its counterpart in the unorthodox new services in the military sphere. But while Allied leaders were immediately inclined to support all innovations however bold and novel in the strictly military sphere, they frowned upon similar innovations in the sphere of diplomatic and psychological warfare.

Mr. Fairbanks' ingenious proposal, based on his personal acquaintance with things Japanese, was shipwrecked in the muddy waters of Washington indecision. His plan was discounted as too difficult to execute and was shelved even before submission to the Joint Chiefs.

The Thomas Proposal

In the meantime, the costly Battle of Iwo Jima and the difficulties expected in the impending Okinawa campaign (whose D-day was set for April 1, 1945), induced the Allied military authorities to review plans which would bring Japan to her knees without the application of military force. Even so, our own suggestions would not have been considered without aid from an unexpected source.

Senator Elbert Thomas, Democrat of Utah, then chairman of the Senate's Military Affairs Committee and himself an outstanding expert on Japan, was preoccupied with the same kind of ideas which induced my plan and that of Colonel McCormack's. In a letter to Admiral William F. Leahy, the President's Chief of Staff, the Senator urged that an American political warfare campaign be started against Japan at the earliest opportunity, since in his opinion Japan was no longer impervious to psychological attack.

Senator Thomas' letter intrigued Admiral Leahy who usually heard contrary estimates at the top-level meetings of the Joint and Combined Chiefs. He was persuaded to seek expert advice on the subject. He requested me to take up the matter with the Senator and when I advised him of the potentialities of the Thomas proposal, the Admiral himself became an enthusiastic advocate of our political warfare approach.

Even so, it failed to receive the White House backing it urgently needed. Satisfactory contact with the White House was established only in April 1945—after President Roosevelt's untimely death, but before the first A-bomb was even tested.

White House aides who sided with Admiral Leahy in his support of our plans were Mr. Mathew J. Connelly and Mr. Samuel R. Davenport. They were newcomers to the White House. They brought a fresh and dynamic approach to the problems confronting us and displayed an understanding of the value of non-military warfare that was strangely lacking in the White House before their time.

Any one who reads Robert E. Sherwood's remarkable double biography of Roosevelt and Hopkins cannot be but startled by the implicit disclosure of how little attention the White House was paying to political warfare as an auxiliary to military operations in modern conflict. To my mind this is the most inexplicable phenomenon of Mr. Roosevelt's otherwise brilliant war record—a strange sidelight on his character and mentality. The fact is—one that all his distraught and neglected advisers on political warfare could readily confirm—that this master of domestic politics failed to understand the immense potentials of political warfare on the international plane.

It is baffling why the man who invented the "fire-side chat" to bring issues before the people, and who was an acknowledged master in timing the announcement of policies to achieve the maximum effect on public opinion should have been so myopic in applying these same techniques to political warfare.

Roosevelt's Inaction

The sole explanation one can offer for Roosevelt's curious reluctance to engage in this form of non-military warfare may be found in his life-long preoccupation with conventional warfare in the purely military sense and in his well-known predilection for the Navy with all its complex technical implements of war. Those of us who made a rather disappointing avocation of observing Roosevelt's attitude toward the kind of non-military warfare we advocated remain convinced that a better exploitation of the means provided by our weapon could have made a substantial contribution to victory in World War II—and to a quicker victory at that.

In the September issue of United Nations World

The large-scale Japanese effort to seek peace through the good offices of such divergent intermediaries as the Vatican and the Kremlin, including a detailed account of the work of these intermediaries, will be told in the second part of this article, to appear in the September issue of United Nations World magazine. It will also include the basic contention of Admiral Zacharias that Japan would have surrendered without US resort to the atomic bomb. In addition, the article will feature hitherto unpublished details of the final surrender negotiations in the wake of the Potsdam Declaration.

Let the Postman RING!

He brings promise of world peace

By GEORGE KENT

ABOUT a year ago two little sisters of Carmi, Ill., both Girl Scouts, stuffed a bag with needles and thread and chocolate and soap, and sent it off to another Girl Scout 5,000 miles away—a 14-year-old youngster in Greece. They wrote, at the same time, that they had toasted marshmallows the Sunday before. The Greek girl replied, saying thank you and asked, "What, please, are marshmallows?"

With that a pen-and-ink friendship had begun. Back and forth went the letters. The Americans learned a great deal about Greece, the Greek a great deal about America. Then one day the Greek girl mentioned, in the casual way children have, that her younger sister had meningitis and would probably die; a remedy existed but it was not obtainable anywhere in Europe. The sisters hot-footed it to their family physician, who verified the statement about a remedy. Then the girls' father bought the drug, wrapped it solidly and airmailed it to Greece. And the youngster, whom they had never seen, got well!

Episodes like this are worth more than cash in creating good will among the peoples of the world.

Today little girls and big girls, their fathers and brothers are writing letters and sending gifts across oceans and over frontiers in a volume which increases each week. They are rediscovering the old, old fact that we are all human beings, whatever our language, whatever flag we salute. They are establishing friendships which in the final analysis are the hard currency of international relations, the only coin that can buy true understanding.

We Americans have always known the power of letters, but generally within our own borders. We had little compelling reason for sending them abroad. Then something happened. We found that for the price of a little effort and a postage stamp we might affect the destinies of nations. And that, given the world's muddled condition, was exactly what we wanted to do.

The event was the Italian elections of April, 1948. Here for the first time the issue was sharply drawn: communism on one side, democracy on the other. Americans—and, I might add, a large number of British, Belgians, French, Swiss, Dutch and Irish—unsheathed their pens and let fly, in fewer than four months, 3,500,000 letters. By themselves the letters did not change the course of the election. But, as Anne O'Hare McCormick said in her *New York Times* analysis of the results, "probably no factor weighted the scales so

heavily . . . The letters were the witnesses a confused and groping people believed."

I was in Italy at the time and heard priests intone them from pulpits, campaign orators quote from them, people discuss them as they sat in cafes, or loitered in the public squares. I saw them printed in newspapers, made into posters, pasted on barbershop mirrors, on the tailboards of trucks. Many were folded and unfolded so often they hung in ribbons.

The Communists raged, for they could do nothing against these words —simple, human words about beefsteaks and bambinos—that seeped into the minds and hearts of the people. They tacitly admitted the power of the letters by actually burning sacks of them in the post office yards before they could be distributed.

Today, with the target spread out to include practically every country in the world, more than 50 American organizations are encouraging their members and friends to sit down and tell someone overseas how an average American lives his everyday life. Everybody seems interested, from 4-H clubs to trade associations, from veterans groups to chambers of commerce. No literary gems are expected—or wanted. Nor is anyone asked to sell America. In fact, letter writers are urged to avoid bragging too much about their country. "Write about your garden," they are told. "How you make a salad, about bringing up children, how Johnnie put a frog in Grandma's bed." Cheerful, prattling letters.

We start off with an enormous advantage. We have among us 35,000,000 people who were either born abroad or are the children of parents born there. And 22,000,000 of them read and write the language of their homeland. It is an opportunity for heart-to-heart communication abroad that no other country has ever had.

The best letter writers thus far are youngsters, especially teenagers. Not only are they well informed and able to discuss serious problems intelligently, but they have none of the inhibitions of their elders. I like the way a Boston youngster handled a query about the Ku Klux Klan from a Czech pen friend who had obviously been listening to Moscow broadcasts. It was as adroit a counterblast as I have ever read. After sketching the history of the Klan and pointing out that it was illegal in most states, he concluded: "May I suggest that a comparison between the KKK and the Communists is not out of order, since both appeal to methods of violence, both emphasize intolerance and prejudice, and in countries like yours are not favored by the thinking people."

Quite without political sword play, but equally in the spirit of international understanding, was a correspondence between Skippy Carter, of Marshfield, Mass., and a Dutch boy. When the Hollander recovered from a long siege of pneumonia he mentioned in passing that the one thing he dreaded was the long trudge to school, three miles away. Before the war there had been bicycles, but none were to be had now. The observation was not self-pity, not a *gimme*—simply a sort of thing friends tell each other. But Skippy was upset. He stuck a note on the school bulletin board, then passed the hat. Kids threw in dimes, teachers dropped heavier metal. After a while there was a brand new bike which American Airlines transported gratis.

Even more affecting is the story of Gini, a girl from Breda, Holland, and Donna, an American girl. They had begun writing letters to each other in 1940, tittle-tattle about swimming and skating. Two years later the war blacked out the correspondence. But in 1945 it was resumed. Gini's father had gone into a concentration camp for listening to Allied radio broadcasts, and Gini had lived, half starved, in a nearby forest. When the British troops arrived she donned a uniform, sang for them and finally fell in love with a British soldier. In her letter she described her plans for the wedding.

The thought of Gini, who loved beautiful clothes, standing at the altar in khaki horrified Donna. She opened a collection and before long there was money enough to send a wedding dress complete with veil and train, white shoes and stockings. Gini reported rapturously of her wedding. Then she passed on the bridal costume to another Dutch girl, who in turn passed it on to a third. Altogether 17 Dutch girls have been married in this costume.

GIs by the thousand are writing nostalgically to the people they met overseas, and not only to their old girl friends. One Frenchman, whose home served as a billet for about 50, spends two days each week answering the letters of his American soldier friends. Parents of U. S. soldiers who were killed fighting have opened correspondence with foreign families who knew their sons, and there are many touching letters telling how warm-hearted Dutch, Belgian, French and English women travel many miles to tend the graves and plant flowers on them.

Some of these exchanges have had far-reaching consequences. Richard Hamilton of Washington, Kansas, had, through the International Friendship League, been writing letters since 1936 to Heihachiro Suzuki of Tokyo. War came. Both boys went into their respective armies. Hamilton, an airman, was set down as "missing in action."

After the war the mother of Richard wrote to Suzuki asking him to find out if, in truth, her son was dead. Suzuki found the grave. It was the beginning of a long correspondence,

Canada

Let the Postman Ring *continued*

and after a while the mother and her son's pen friend decided to set up in Tokyo, as a memorial to the fallen boy, the Hamilton Correspondence Society to aid the exchange of letters between Americans and Japanese. "If by Dick's death," wrote Mrs. Hamilton, "there can come a better understanding between nations, I will know that our sorrow and loss have been turned to victory."

This year the Hamilton Society sent to America, as a starter, 2,000 letters from Japanese boys who were anxious to start a correspondence with youngsters in the United States.

There is also the story of Howard Kurtz, formerly of the Air Transport Command. He felt so deeply on the subject of international friendship that he quit his job with a commercial air line and started the Air Age Neighbor Movement [UNW, June]. "The only way to make people realize that this is a small world and help it, in fact, to become one world," he said, "is to encourage them to write airmail letters. The airplane is the greatest annihilator of barriers we have ever had. A Swede who writes to a man in Chicago and gets an answer in a week doesn't have to be told the U. S. is on his doorstep."

Kurtz is mainly interested in getting groups like Rotary or Kiwanis or chambers of commerce to write letters, as groups, to similar organizations abroad. He asks that each American letter enclose an International Reply Coupon, purchasable at any post office for 11 cents. Overseas the coupons are traded for stamps, and when enough coupons pile up the foreign government can exchange them through the Universal Postal Union for dollars. The device therefore not only facilitates a quick reply but comes a real financial contribution to debilitated nations.

Most US organizations find that letter-writing exchanges can be carried on in English. Where a language problem is involved, however, some ingenious solutions have been worked out. The international correspondence division of the U. S. Office of Education—which has handled more than 100,000 letters in the past two years, mostly from German, Austrian and Japanese children—turns over some of the German letters to the students of that language in, for example, Lincoln High School, at Tacoma, Wash. The Tacoma boys and girls translate the letters into English and are supposed to send the translations to Washington, D. C., for forwarding to other American youngsters for reply. In translating them, however, the students frequently become so enthused that they themselves enter into correspondence. They have even started putting out a little mimeographed paper in German and English called *Der Deutsche Dakel* (The German Dachshund); it swaps articles with the paper of a high school in Leipzig.

The largest of the young people's letter organizations is the International Friendship League of Boston. Interested in creating friendships that will endure, the League begins by a careful matching of would-be correspondents. Each writer is asked to give his age, interests, personal ambition, father's occupation. A boy whose hobby is model-building will be teamed up with another builder. A girl who aspires to be a doctor will be mated with another of similar bent.

Founded in 1936 by Edna MacDonough—and now operated by Miss MacDonough, her sister Margaret, one paid employe and volunteer assistants on a tiny budget of $5,000 a year—the International Friendship League has gained the recognition of 62 countries as the official liaison with the schools of the United States. It is the agency to which a great variety of organizations—the American Friends Service Committee, schools, magazines—channel requests for pen friends. In 13 years the League has put more than 100,000 American young people in touch with more than 300,000 children abroad. It not only stimulates letter writing but once each week enables letter writers to talk to their pen friends overseas via radio station WRUL. The League charges 50 cents for American members, to keep out youngsters who are interested only in adding to their stamp collections.

Most of the writers from abroad are seriously seeking enlightenment about America. "Say me something about advertising," wrote one. Others ask questions about parks, subways, 4-H clubs. They want to know if the Communists are telling the truth. Charles L. Todd, director of Operation Democracy—which has persuaded 250 American towns to "adopt" 250 towns in Europe—recently made a trip to Western Europe. "Through letters," says Mr. Todd, "these towns are coming to know their America. They are learning that not

England

France

all Americans use white telephones, and that the money for ECA comes not from some roseate Never-Never Land but out of the pockets of you and me in taxes."

The hunger for knowledge is immense. Each week, in Boston, *The Christian Science Monitor* publishes columns of letters from abroad and invites its readers to answer them. In less than a year the Letters Abroad program of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia has brought together a formidable number of letter writers—so formidable that its director, Miss Alison Raymond, has called in the assistance of a battery of International Business Machines to help her and her volunteer staff sort out and place in contact would-be pen friends who have kindred interests and backgrounds. Formerly applications to Letters Abroad were sorted by hand and grouped according to nationality, age, sex, occupatoin, education and hobbies. By painstaking efforts pen friendships were thus established at the rate of about 400 a week. Now machines are able to do the sorting into all of these categories and more—at a speed of 4,000 per hour.

The people abroad are not only writing to America, of course. Finns are writing to Swedes and Norwegians, Danes to Swiss and Italians, French to Belgians. The Benelux idea is being quietly furthered by sacks of personal correspondence among the Dutch, Belgians and Luxemburgers. A vast number of letters from both children and grown ups, purely on a friendship basis, is traveling back and forth among Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries.

Much of this correspondence is being stimulated and directly aided by the only international organization devoted to the purpose. Set up before the war by the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, it is known as the *Federation Internationale des Organisations de Correspondances et Echanges Scolaires,* which, roughly translated, means the International Federation of Correspondence Bureaus and Student Exchanges. It has its headquarters in Paris, with branches in many of the important cities of the world.

It is hard to read some of the letters from abroad without being deeply moved. "After 11 years in darkness, 11 years of compulsion," writes a German, "let us push the doors and windows widely open and let the fresh air of democracy flow in." Out of the heart of a little Belgian girl comes this pitiful cry: "Oh, I hope there will never be another war. It was so terrible and Antwerp was the city of the flying bomb. We must all be good friends."

Appeals of this kind are hard to resist. America is a little slow to start, but we are picking up momentum with each passing week.

The best summary I know of the importance of the exchange of letters between us and the peoples of other nations comes from Andre Visson's book, *As Others See Us:* "Every American who helps at least one European to understand America, her objectives and her methods of achieving them, has made a personal and extremely valuable contribution to the most vital cause of our time."

DIRECT MAIL FOR PEACE

If you would like to enter into correspondence with someone abroad, a number of organizations stand ready to help you. Space permits listing only a few.

For Adults

Letters Abroad c/o World Affairs Council, 141 Walnut St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.

American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., 130 E. 22 St., New York, N. Y.

National Sales Executives, Inc., Hotel Shelton, Lexington Ave. and 49 St., New York, N. Y. (For businessmen.)

For Young People

International Friendship League, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. (Fee: 50 cents per name.)

Division of International Educational Relations, U.S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.

National Federation of Catholic College Students, 350 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Boy Scouts of America, 2 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.

Student Forum on International Relations, 530 Powell St., San Francisco 4, Calif. (Fee: ten cents per name.)

For Organizations

Air-Age Neighbor Movement (your local Postmaster has a pamphlet containing full information).

Denmark

How the UN wars against dope smugglers and chastises errant nations

By TIBOR KOEVES

Lucky Luciano vs The United Nations

A SLIM, dark man, his voice hoarse with emotion, his eyes filled with tears, appeared last spring before a key United Nations commission at Lake Success. The plea he made described a plight more perilous than all the biblical plagues that had once struck the land of the Pharaohs. The speaker was from that same land—the Hon. Mohamed Amin Zaky, representative of the Egyptian government.

Egypt faced, he said, the gravest crisis of its modern history. Evil forces were sapping the physical and moral health of its people. The very lives of tens of thousands were in danger. The harm already done was immeasurable. If not stopped, it would destroy the whole nation. Final catastrophe could only be averted if the vicious invasion of Egypt were stopped by immediate international action directed by the United Nations.

The body before which Mr. Zaky spoke was the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs, and the enemy against which he implored assistance wore no uniform and had no tanks or bombers. The invaders were a legion of professional smugglers and peddlers of narcotics from Lebanon, Syria and Turkey, who had transformed Egypt into a nation of dope addicts. The normal functioning of his country, Mr. Zaky inferred, was being slowly paralyzed.

Experts on the Near East knew only too well that there was no exaggeration in the tragic picture painted by the emotional Egyptian. They remembered Cairo's frequent, bloody riots, the hashish-drunk students running amok, the squallor of its disease-ridden slums. They also

knew that the pitiful performance of the Egyptian army against Israel was largely due to habitual use of narcotics by officers and men. Mr. Zaky himself admitted that smugglers often obtained army vehicles and even military convoys to haul their contraband into Egypt.

Today Egypt is a tragic example of what happens to a nation which succumbs to dope. And it is that example which must be remembered when one studies dry statistics. They say that during the last three years the use of narcotics has increased alarmingly not only in the Near East where it has had a long tradition, but also in Europe, and that it has grown as never before in the United States itself.

Narcotics confiscated by US Federal authorities in 1948 had a value of between 20 and 25 million dollars. Since, UN officials estimate, seizures of contraband never exceed 10 per cent of the entire illicit trade, and are often less, it is calculated that US narcotics racketeers alone gross a quarter billion dollars each year. The profits are tremendous. Opium bought in Bombay for $10 a pound fetches $1,000 in a North American port. Even more fantastic are the prices of heroin. Wherever it is legally manufactured for medical purposes, its trade price is around $10 an ounce. Broken up into grains, and peddled to addicts at $20 a grain, a $10 ounce brings $8,750.

International authorities, with the record of a disturbing upsurge after World War I in mind, had prepared for another when the last war ended, but no appreciable increase of drug smuggling took place during 1945 and '46. Then in 1947 the flood came. In 1946 47 kilograms of opium, not quite 9 kilograms of heroin and 0.781 kilograms of cocaine were seized in the US. In 1947 these figures jumped to 110 kilograms, 23 kilograms, and a little over 1 kilogram respectively. In 1948 seizures of opium decreased considerably, but seizures of heroin increased to 28 kilograms, and those of cocaine to almost 5 kilograms—truly frightening figures when multiplied by ten.

Especially ominous is the growing quantity of heroin reaching the US, for heroin is the drug of the underworld, of the thieves, the liars, the unstable, the weaklings. While its influence lasts, it has a curiously steadying effect which dispels doubt, instils optimism and encourages initiative. Although it decreases desire in the male, it stimulates sexuality in women addicts. White slavers use it to break down the resistance, seduce, and afterward to bind their victims to them.

Perhaps no other dope has more horrible after-effects than heroin. It leaves a constant, oppressing headache in its wake. There is a general uneasiness, and a suspiciousness which often develops into a persecution mania. Worst of all, it is the most difficult drug habit to break, and consequently the most profitable to peddlers and wholesalers.

Heroin is expensive merchandise even for the wholesalers. Relatively little of it is manufactured legitimately for medical purposes, and contraband deliveries come from clandestine factories situated in Turkey, around Istanbul, in Greece, in Italy and in three French cities, Marseille, Paris and Le Havre. Its highly centralized production and distribution require considerable capital.

When, early in 1947, this diabolical white powder suddenly started pouring into the United States from Italian and French ports, American narcotics agents promptly concluded that this time they were facing not scattered individual criminals, but a highly organized international gang masterminded by someone with ample funds and who was at home on two continents. The time element gave them the clue to the criminal chief's identity, for in 1946 something new had been added to Europe's underworld.

In that year, in February, a convict who had served 10 years of a 30-to-50 year term for white slavery in Conmore's Meadows Prison was pardoned by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, and deported to his native Italy. This criminal thus freed to breathe the soft spring air of Rome was the world's greatest expert on the illegal procurement, smuggling and sale of deadly narcotics on

WORLDY, CHARMING, RELAXED, LUCKY RECEIVES THE PRESS IN ROME.

Lucky Luciano *continued*

the largest possible scale.

For many years before his arrest, this man had been branded New York's Public Enemy No. 1. As uncontested boss of the vicious 107th Street Gang, he specialized in the most contemptible vice rackets, prostitution, narcotics, gambling. He had had the doubtful honor of taking over from Al Capone the leadership of the dreaded *Unione Siciliana,* the most ruthlessly organized association of criminals in history.

The name of this convict was Salvatore Lucania, better known as "Lucky" Luciano, in memory of one night in 1929 when, taken for a ride by a rival gang, he succeeded in talking himself out of being murdered.

When Lucky was "sent up" to Conmore, it looked like a real *Goetterdammerung.* It was taken for granted that, if he ever left prison, it would be as a broken, useless, old man.

But even though his friends gave up, the tough and resourceful gangster refused to accept defeat. He likes to talk about how he succeeded in cheating his fate, but his own version of his pardon is somewhat different from that of Albany.

According to Lucky, the commutation of his sentence was part of a deal he made with Governor Dewey, but he insists that his deportation to Italy was a violation of the bargain. He is bitter and spiteful when he tells the story of how he was "doublecrossed" notwithstanding his "important wartime service to the Allies."

Lucky confesses that as soon as he heard over the prison radio about the invasion of Africa in 1943, he knew he would soon be able to turn the war into an instrument of his own liberation, since he had a master plan to that effect.

Even before the war, a number of Luciano's former henchmen had been deported to Sicily. Now Lucky sent word to military authorities that he was eager to put the services of his underlings at the disposal of the Allies. Did the High Command need Sicilian saboteurs for destroying a strategic bridge, for blocking a harbor or dynamiting a tunnel? Lucky's men were on the spot and would do the job with pleasure. Nor did they ask compensation. All they wanted was that Mr. Luciano's sentence should be commuted.

The offer was accepted. A parachutist was dropped near Palermo bearing written orders from Lucky to his men. The former New York gangsters did their jobs—with skill, precision and honesty—and in February, 1946, Luciano was a free man—but not free enough to continue his career in his beloved Manhattan.

However that may be, deportation by no means marked the end of Lucky's participation in American crime. Undaunted by 10 years in jail, none the worse for prison food and prison air, he switched back to his old profession with a promptness which showed up his exceptional physical and mental resilience.

Until quite recently, the former convict lived in splendor, alternating his residence between Capri's famed Quisisana Hotel and a splendidly furnished apartment in Rome's aristocratic Parioli district. While he was under the constant surveillance of Italy's and America's best detectives, he danced in the best clubs every night, dressed with the effulgence of new wealth. He showered with jewels his beautiful girl friend, Spea Lissoni, a former dancer from Milan. He announced his intention of entering the motion picture industry as a major producer of American films in Italy.

There is no doubt that Salvatore "Charles Lucky Luciano" Lucania is one of the most powerful and most complex criminals of our time. But who is this character? What drives him to perpetuate himself in the most degrading of all crimes while posing with such conviction and obstinacy as a gentleman of great style? How does he justify his past and his present in his own eyes, and what inspires his almost pitiful desire to be recognized as a *grand seigneur* sporting away his time in the manner of an aristocrat of money, taste and pleasures?

According to a close acquaintance

Classical methods used by narcotics smugglers

HOLLOWED imitation pearls have often been used by woman operators assigned to smuggle opium and other narcotic drugs through the various customs offices.

HEROIN concealed in this piece of chewing gum was by prearranged plan placed under a seat on a subway platform to be picked up later by buyer.

SEVERAL DOSES of various narcotics were hidden in the cavity of this stone ring, the enclosure of which then was sealed in by a very thin layer of wax.

of Luciano who recently returned from Italy and with whom he spoke freely about himself, the main force moving his life has been dread of the misery and squalor amidst which he was born in 1897 in the little Sicilian village of Lercara, near Palermo. Unlike most Italians, he loathes his native village and has not visited it since his return to Italy.

He came to the United States as a boy. Soon, lured by the mirage of easy money and elegant clothes, he joined a gang of hoodlums of the East Side. His first arrest came in 1916, at the age of 19, significantly enough, for possession of narcotics. Other arrests followed, but his star rose steadily among his confederates until by the late twenties he was undisputed boss of the prostitution racket, and a few years later became the over-all chief of all Italian gangs in the United States.

From the confessions of his accomplices we know that Lucky owed his success to a curious duality of his nature, on the one side the greatest possible cruelty, on the other the sweetest friendliness. Where his business is concerned he is cold, calculating, a snake in the jungle. His iron nerves and his fantastic will power make him a more redoubtable adversary than the raging Al Capone or the moody Dutch Schultz had ever been.

On the other hand, to his men Lucky has always been the friendliest, the most gracious of bosses. Away from business, he was a smiling, courteous companion and a generous host. Before 1936 he often transported his boys to race tracks around the country in his private Lockheed plane. On these occasions Lucky was dressed in an impeccable cutaway. Today his men in Sicily regularly send him gifts to Rome, as a rule crates of choice oranges, which are Luciano's weakness; and he is never slow in returning the presents. His loyalty is proverbial among his confederates, and to his warped mind, conditioned by the rivalries between New York gangs of various nationalities, every Italian is his ally. At Hot Springs, Arkansas, in 1936, when he found out that the aid, whom Dewey had dispatched to arrest him, bore an Italian name, he exclaimed wrathfully: "You're a hell of an Italian!"

The explanation of why this man so long remained immune to arrest is inherent in the nature and organization of the narcotics racket. Drug traffic is conducted through four echelons, and the higher a man is in the organization the less he is in danger of being caught. The lowest echelon is that of the peddlers, themselves often addicts, busboys, waiters in shady night clubs, or simply bums. Next come the retailers who supply the peddlers, and above them the wholesaler who may be a person of substantial fortune and is, as a rule, provided with a convincing, legitimate-looking cover in some business field.

High above these three is the top man, in underworld argot, the "Baron." An invisible chief with a genius for setting up undercover organizations, the Baron may never see or touch narcotics. He associates with celebrities, plays golf with diplomats, shakes the hands of kings.

Against these ruthless international criminals, the United Nations, though the highest international body in the world, has no power to act directly. Its agencies have no law-enforcing authority and must leave police work to the individual states.

The dynamo of international detection and police work is the Bureau of Narcotics of the US Treasury Department. Headed by husky Henry J. Anslinger, who looks like an honest cop and is one, the Bureau is pace setter and guide for the police of five continents. Its agents go everywhere, often encountering adventures which wouldn't be out of place in a Hollywood B picture.

Recently one of Anslinger's agents collaborated with the Turkish police in hooking a band of smugglers. He posed as a rich American buyer and, after prolonged negotiations, was taken to the smugglers' hideout. On the way they drove him through a maze of Istanbul's tortuous back alleys until he finally had not the least idea where he was. Just when it looked as if he would never be able to report to his Turkish colleagues the location of the gang's headquarters, the US agent spied an electric meter on the wall of the building and memorized its number. Next day the whole ring was broken by the local police.

Despite lack of police power, inter-

Pigeons as Dope Addicts

Garland Williams, head of the New York Office of the Treasury Department's Narcotics Bureau, is one of the ubiquitous agents who think nothing of circling the globe in pursuit of smugglers, clandestine manufacturers and illicit traders. He recently visited a dozen countries in the Near East to investigate the serious situation which has developed there. His inspection tour, he says, was a tragic experience. In Lebanon and in Syria he drove through extensive poppy fields and saw the rich harvests which the peasants raised for the benefit of unscrupulous traffickers. In Turkey he found evidence of the increasing efficiency of well-organized gangs which do a thriving business, mainly by using chartered planes, with their Greek confreres.

In Teheran, Williams discovered that it is about as difficult to find an opium den in the capital of Iran as it was to find a speakeasy in New York during prohibition. There are thousands of these establishments in every quarter. Comfort, quality of opium, and beauty of surroundings vary according to the purse and social standing of the customers.

One day in one of the dens, Williams was surprised to discover a pair of pigeons cooing to their hearts' content. One of the pigeons flew out of the door with fluttering wings, but soon it returned in a state of exhaustion. Puzzled by the incident, Williams asked for an explanation. He was told that seeking refuge from a storm some months previously, the pigeons took shelter in the opium den. After a few days they had become used to the opium-filled air and they turned into regular addicts. Thereafter they left the den for short periods only, unwilling as they were to breathe fresh air.

Lucky Luciano *continued*

national control of narcotic drugs is a highly efficient operation, because it goes to the root of the trouble. Its principle aim is to limit world production of raw materials and manufactured drugs strictly to medical and scientific needs and to make sure that narcotics are exported and imported only for these legitimate purposes. Its agencies do have difficulties with a number of national governments which are reluctant, chiefly for financial reasons, to enforce the limitations of raw materials or energetically prevent the consumption of drugs. Nevertheless, especially when compared to that in other fields involving co-operation of nations, the progress achieved in control of narcotics during the last 25 years is only short of miraculous.

The methods and techniques of the international control are outlined in the 1925 Geneva Convention and the 1931 Limitation Convention, both sponsored by the League of Nations. These Conventions have set up a statistical system which gives international authorities a clear picture of how much narcotics are produced in the individual countries and what happens to them. Each signatory state, in fact, is duty bound to submit annually complete reports on the preceding year's production of cocoa leaf and raw opium, on the manufacture and movement of narcotic substances and raw materials. Statistics must also be furnished of stocks in the hands of wholesalers or held by the government, as well as of confiscated contraband.

Equally important, each country must also furnish estimates as to the quantities of drugs it will require for medical and scientific purposes during the coming year.

Three organs of the United Nations are primarily responsible for the existing system of international control: the Commission on Narcotic Drugs of the ECOSOC, the Permanent Central Opium Board, and the Supervisory Board.

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs consists of 15 members. It is both the advisory organ to ECOSOC —as to the manner in which nations abide by their international drug agreements—and at the same time the world policy-formulating body on all questions of drug control.

The Permanent Central Opium Board which has 8 members, is primarily concerned with "watching the course of international trade in narcotic drugs" and its work is based on the annual reports of the various countries concerning their production, exports and imports.

The Supervisory Body of 4 members has as its main function, the examination of the estimates of legitimate requirements furnished annually by governments.

The Supervisory Body has the right to ask governments to reduce their estimates, and in case a country neglects to furnish an estimate, the Supervisory Body is required to make one for it. The annual statement of world requirements, which is issued by the Supervisory Body on December 15 each year, is the base on which the whole machinery of the international control of the manufacture and trade in dangerous drugs now rests.

The present President of the Permanent Board, US representative Herbert L. May, is also a member of the Supervisory Body. A lawyer and retired businessman, he has been a member of both organs ever since their organization in 1925 and 1931 respectively. He is recognized the world over as the great expert and the spark plug of international drug control. Co-operation between the Permanent Board and the Supervisory Body on the one hand and the UN Secretariat on the other is maintained by the UN Division of Narcotic Drugs under the direction of its chief, Leon Steining.

The Permanent Board and the Supervisory Body are never loath to challenge governments which shirk their obligations. The firm letter which last year the Permanent Board sent to the Government of Iran demanding that it submit its long-delayed statistics and stop the open flourishing trade in opium is a remarkable document, an example of square-shooting, positive international action free of all diplomatic hypocrisy or evasions.

Another recent conflict where the Permanent Board and the Supervisory Body decisively asserted their prerogatives involved the curious case of Finland and heroin. The crux of the matter is that in its 1949 estimate that little country of 4 million people asked for the unprecedented amount of 197 kilograms—more than any other country in the world. That quantity is over a hundred times greater than the consumption of Norway, for instance, and is equivalent to an average therapeutic dose for every single inhabitant every three weeks.

That mysterious demand has provoked a prolonged correspondence between the Supervisory Body and the Finnish Government. In the end the former flatly declared that "nothing could justify the present level of consumption of diacetylmorphine (heroin) in Finland." If Finland chose to defy the decision, the Permanent Board can declare an embargo but world publicity and the pressure of international public opinion will probably be effective in this case.

The ideal situation would be, of course, if under the authority of the United Nations an international narcotics police would be created with right to supervise production and trade, and actually enforce the law, arrest and prosecute in any territory. The old shibboleth of national sovereignty still stands in the way of such radical reform even where the health and well-being of millions are concerned. More and more people have awakened to the fact, however, that national boundaries may be respected by diplomats and officials but never by the criminals themselves.

Ultimately the crimes of unscrupulous international gangsters of the type of Lucky Luciano may serve one useful purpose. They force people all over the world to realize that sooner or later international criminal gangs must be opposed by an international organization of law.

What I Think of The United Nations

By ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

I KNOW that a great many people in the United States and other nations today wonder what is the use of having a United Nations. "It is just a debating society. It doesn't do anything." Those are criticisms one can hear almost anywhere, though to my mind they are quite unjustified.

I would like to ask everyone who has made or been tempted to make some such criticism of the United Nations to remember just one fact: When the United Nations was set up in the spring of '45 we thought that as soon as the war came to an end we would make the peace. And the organization that was set up was to function in a peaceful world, maintaining the new peace and creating an atmosphere in which lasting peace could grow and develop. But peace has never been made, and because of that there is dumped in the lap of the United Nations a large number of political questions it was never expected or designed to deal with.

In addition, in this period in which no peace has been made, a rift has developed and widened between the world's two great nations. As long as they cannot come to an agreement on certain questions, the complete organization of the UN is impossible.

For example, they cannot agree on what shall happen in the realm of atomic energy. Therefore, there can be no agreement on what kind of force there should be at the disposal of the United Nations, and until the world has force within the United Nations it is obliged to have force somewhere else. That is one reason you hear such constant complaints as, "Why do we have to pour money into Greece?—And why must we build up the armies of the Atlantic Pact nations? Why must we do this and why that? If the United Nations were really doing its job, there would be no need of our doing it."

But the United Nations cannot use force, or even the threat of force to maintain peace until its member nations are able to complete their organization, establishing collective force. And there cannot be collective force until there is some kind of agreement as to how communism and democracy are to live in the world together.

All this means, of course, that we must look at the United Nations from a different point of view, emphasizing what it *has* been *permitted* to accomplish rather than what it *had* been *expected* to do.

The Security Council, for example, was intended to take care of problems that were a threat to world peace. It was expected to use force if necessary. It can render decisions, and has done so, stopping or localizing warfare in a number of areas and eliminating other threats to the peace. But it has no collective force to put behind its decisions. And while moral force has value—as events in Palestine, Kashmir, Indonesia and elsewhere have proved—moral force has not the same value as the ability to say to an aggressor, "You must stop or be stopped." When you put moral force behind something, you have to persuade—you cannot order—and persuasion takes far longer and requires far greater understanding.

Important as the Security Council is, however, I prefer to focus attention on those other parts of the organization which the Charter set up to encourage in the world an atmosphere in which peace might grow.

The people who wrote the Charter did not assume that peace was going to drop down on us like a beneficent blanket from heaven and be with us forever. They were quite realistic about it. They knew that, even though we made a peace, we would have to work year in and year out, day in and day out, to keep that peace, and to see that the atmosphere of the world was conducive to its growth. They knew that throughout the world there were tremendous difficulties, that it would take a long while, for instance, to make it possible for the people of our country to understand what was happening to someone in South Africa, or in India, or in Siam.

They set up, therefore, some specialized agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, to begin to do things in the world that would increase understanding and, being done on a world scale, would help bring about world understanding of special problems.

I can recall very well the days when we thought that our Great Plains were doomed to be largely desert. But we started then something which was called a "shelter belt" area. Many thought that it was the greatest nonsense in the world. At the time some of the foresters came to me and said: "The President is crazy. It just can't be." But about eight years later I saw people in the "shelter belt" region, who had not believed in it, but who suddenly found that their fields were holding soil again. And they were growing crops where they had not been able to grow them before.

That special problem of wind erosion of farmland is one a limited number of Americans now know how to meet. It is one of the multitude of agricultural problems that need to be tackled on a world scale, and for the first time it is being done. For the first time a group of nations is meeting together to find ways of holding and restoring the world's top soil. It is really exciting because it is a fundamental thing. The nations in FAO are trying to prevent, by providing more food, the wars which have resulted when hunger forced peoples to move out of devastated areas.

Another important specialized agency is the World Health Organization. To be sure all the nations aren't in it yet, but it is functioning—and very effectively. This year it is attacking a problem that a citizen of the United States may not think important because we have faced and met it pretty well. Tuberculosis isn't a terrifying disease to us. But when I was in Paris at the United Nations Assembly last autumn, I met with a good many students. One night a group came in to see me. They wanted to get in touch with young people of similar interests in this country.

In the course of conversation an older woman who was in charge said their major needs were clothes and food. I asked if they had a good deal of illness. She said, "Oh, yes, Madame. Fifty per cent of our students are either tubercular or on the border.

What would you think if 50 per cent of the students in an American university were either tubercular or on the border?

When I was in Holland a year ago last spring I went with Queen Juliana to see the first and only—and small—hospital where they were caring for young tuberculous students who couldn't keep up with their university studies. Queen Juliana told me that they didn't know yet the percentage of tuberculosis among their children. She guessed that of the resistance movement youngsters who would soon attain university age there were probably between 40 and 50 per cent who had the disease.

Conditions similar to those in Holland can be found in other countries, and it is vital that tuberculosis be attacked on a world scale. This would be true even if we Amer-

René Cassin from France, Eleanor Roosevelt from the US and Alexander P. Pavlov from the USSR engaged in animated conversation.

icans were the only ones concerned. Our children are going to have to run the world with these Dutch and French and other children and, unless physical and mental and spiritual help comes to the youngsters of all the countries in the world, our children are going to have a hard time—a harder time than we had. No matter how healthy and fortunate otherwise they may be, the world isn't going to be a normal place to live in if the peoples of other nations are warped by disease and hunger and frustration.

FAO and WHO, and 11 other specialized agencies, are connected with the United Nations through the Economic and Social Council. Under the Council also, set up almost immediately after its organization, is the Human Rights Commission. I want to cite a few of the difficulties confronting this organization which should make you more tolerant of its operation and help you realize how trying it is to work in an international group.

Many persons feel the Human Rights Commission can be important because it has written the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was adopted by the General Assembly in Paris and which may become one of the pillars of world peace in the future.

After I came home from Paris I had a letter from a gentleman who asked: "How could you as the United States delegate accept Article I of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights when our declaration [in the US Bill of Rights] is different?"

The reason, of course, is that there were 58 nations sitting around the table in Committee Three, which brought the draft to the Assembly, and there were 58 nations in the General Assembly and of these 48 nations approved it. Committee Three spent four weeks on the first three articles and we made three changes. In Article I we changed the familiar, "All men are created equal," to, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

Why say all human beings? Because in Committee Three, which deals with humanitarian, social and cultural matters, there are a number of women. They are the ones who changed "all men" to "all human beings." Many of them come from countries where the great mass of women have no equality and no recognition, and they are very conscious of that situation. That's the first change, and it illustrates that conditions in different parts of the world have great effect on an international document and on an international situation.

The differences in languages are another source of problems. We have five official languages — English, French, Russian, Chinese and Spanish —into which all statements are translated. It frequently happens that there is a disagreement between the man who speaks and his interpreter. The speaker will stop the translator —we listen with earphones to whichever of the five languages we wish— and say he isn't getting the meaning, and sometimes the speaker will take over the translating for a sentence or two himself. When the Russian delegate did just this at one of our meetings, I told him his insistence on making the English translation, "no discrimination because of estate," would mean very little to us. So he changed it to, "no discrimination because of class." I said: "We think we are getting away from classes that divide human beings, so let's not say 'class'." He finally settled on "birth" as translating his idea. And then the Chinese delegate, who is much more of a stickler for proper English than most of us who speak it, said he would accept "birth" but that it must be preceded by the words, "race or—." This did not please the USSR delegate and it took us some time not only to get the right word but to put it in the place which was satisfactory.

Religion is another subject that creates problems for us. In our article on religion we thought we had satisfied everyone, but we found we had overlooked a final consultation with the Mohammedans. As a consequence they had very nearly decided to abstain from voting or vote against the article because of an apparently minor clause that said any person had a right to change his or her belief. But some feel the Koran does not allow a Mohammedan to change his religious belief. In the end, however, Pakistan, Lebanon and some of the other Arab states decided that the Koran permitted a change in belief. Saudi Arabia held to the last that a change was not permissible, and it cast one of the abstaining votes.

These international differences and intricacies are all so interesting, though often discouraging, because one is constantly learning new things about other peoples—learning to understand them and co-operate with them. But the problems are so many and we need to know so much that, when an agreement is finally reached, one often wonders how it ever was achieved.

The agreements are coming, however. As the delegates learn to appreciate and sympathize with each other's points of view, one can see the growth of a new spirit of trust— of willingness to talk frankly in an earnest search for compromise. I have not yet found this to be true with the Soviet delegates—I wish I had—perhaps because they are always conscious of being government representatives, and do not permit themselves to be themselves. They are tied by the line they have to follow. But with the other delegates there is a growing urgency to find areas of understanding and agreement.

It is going to take a great deal of time to find and develop such areas with the Eastern European nations. But we have to recognize that they must be found, and that we must do much of the searching.

We know that the USSR and the Communist parties are making promises for communism that sound very attractive to the downtrodden peoples of the world. We know that we should recognize that the fight today is in Asia, in Africa and in the islands of the Pacific among the peoples who have felt that they are looked down on by the white race. One cannot observe the United Nations in action—one cannot look around that great table at which now sit the representatives of 59 nations without realizing that the white race is a minority race in the world, and that there are more peoples believing in

(Continued on page 48)

The Black Man's Burden

Petitions Bring to Lake Success the Grudge of the Jungle

By BETTY STONES

"LISTEN to the chiefs of the tribe who love U.N.O. who have heard that you will soon arrive."

This plea, written in Swahili by Augustin Ndababara, a high chief in Belgium's Ruanda-Urundi mandate in Africa, arrived in Lake Success on May 16. In the dirge-like tones of a funeral drum, Chief Ndababara's petition spelled out a tale of backs scarred by floggings, of arbitrary taxes on cattle and on land, of misery unrelieved.

"We are therefore hurt very much," he wrote. "Suppose all of us went looking for countries far away, the officers would use force upon our women and make them cultivate the highways for nothing for 10 hours a day . . . I trust that U.N.O. will give matters presented here serious consideration and help us out of the darkness into light."

If all this seems remote from life at Lake Success, it is equally remote from life in Africa before UN—when all such malcontent chieftains could be appeased by the gift of a gramophone. In all our mercurial world, there is hardly any change more startling than that which has impelled peoples hitherto dismissed as "natives" or "savage" to refuse the specious bribery of gramophones and instead demand the older, more complex inventions of justice and human rights and freedom.

When Chief Ndababara sat down in his hut in Ruanda-Urundi to pen his eloquent appeal to Trygve Lie, he invoked the right of petition pledged in Article 87B of the UN Charter—empowering the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council to "accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority."

The right of petition, of course, is nothing new, at least in principle. The League of Nations recognized it. But, throughout the League's life, the right of petition was rarely invoked except by missionaries, meddling humanitarians and some disgruntled

German settlers in former German colonies. But as soon as the Trusteeship Council was set up in 1946, it was engulfed by tidal waves of petitions from Africa. They set forth a vast variety of complaints, ranging from alienation of land to alienation of affections.

• An organization of teachers in British Togoland asked UN to aid in its campaign for higher salaries.

• The paramount chief of the Gbi Hohoe tribe complained that the mission in his territory had become "a den of robbers."

• The Krachi Native Authority voiced opposition to prohibition introduced by a temperance-minded mandatory power and expressed nostalgia "for the golden age of German rule when cask rum flowed freely."

• A chief in Tanganyika advised UN that he had lost his throne "just because the District Commissioner hates me."

• The Mengen and Wadekum Community Leagues in British Cameroon tried to enlist UN aid for the return of lands transferred to the Bali tribe "who had bribed German and British administrators by giving them their daughters and mistresses."

The first petition to Lake Success was written on November 18, 1946, by the Futua, the paramount chiefs of Samoa. In it, they urged the New Zealand Government kindly to depart forthwith and leave them to govern themselves.

A Visiting Mission was promptly sent out. It found that the Samoans had clearly reached a stage of development which justified their claim to a larger share in their own government and disposition of the country's revenues. Almost simultaneously, legislation to this end was introduced in the New Zealand Parliament.

One of the latest petitions to reach Lake Success came last spring from the Pacific island of Nauru, a possession Australia inherited from the vanquished Japanese. It was sent by the Nauruan Council of Chiefs. Protesting their high degree of literacy and demonstrating their ability to speak for themselves, the chiefs of Nauru charged that Australia allowed them no voice in their own administration and left them no control over the disposition of the island's revenues. The whole thing sounded like a latter-day replica of 18th century petition of colonial America to His Majesty George III, "no taxation without representation."

The Nauruans went on to say that repeated remonstrances with the administering power yielded no results, compelling the Council to ask for the UN's intervention.

On April 15, the Council of Chiefs sent another letter to the Secretary General asking him to advise the Trusteeship Council of a favorable turn of events. Australia had sent representatives to the island with the promise to improve conditions at once. In a mood of triumph the Nauruans withdrew their petition—at least for the time being. Their case is a good example of the established value of the system and of the aid the Trusteeship Council can render even when it does not actually render it.

The six so-called Administering Authorities of the Trusteeship Council (US, UK, Belgium, France, Australia, New Zealand) have not always viewed the influx of petitions with unalloyed delight—nor did they act upon them as promptly as Australia did in the case of Nauru. Even when the petitioner can be proved to be a miscreant, and his grievance a pack of lies, the petition has a way of dramatizing for the Council—and for the world—certain glaringly inhuman conditions in trust territories.

"Shut your filthy mouth, you monkey," is not talk appropriate to a Commissioner who is supposed to be leading his charges gently toward self-government, even though as in this case he was talking to a criminal.

The reporting of such incidents is most effective, coming as they must under the ferocious scrutiny of the representative of the Soviet Union, along with other members of the Council. Some of the latter may themselves be citizens of former mandates or colonies which have gained freedom only after harsh struggle; and still others belong to peoples who are very much fed up with European pretensions to racial superiority.

The whole question of racial discrimination was highlighted by petitions submitted to the Visiting Mission to Ruanda-Urundi, Belgian mandate in West Africa. The following are typical:

• "Pray will you be good enough as to consider my this humble petition. ...That according to commercial mistakes, which happen very often everywhere and which I committed one . . . by which I am ordered to leave this country. . . . I request your honor that you, and the other members of the commission, will do their utmost to help us, as this law of deportation is only for Asiatics who have already been deported on simple matters." Signed by Nanji Jamal Kalla, a resident of Ruanda-Urundi for 29 years.

• "When I heard of your arrivel a man of my capacity was too delighted because. . . . I was *Forced* to be deported in the month of February which is very pitiful. . . . Regarding liquor we get trouble even to buy Eau de Cologne for the medicine for our children." Signed by Mulla Atta Muhammed, a resident of Ruanda-Urundi for 16 years.

• "During the year 1938 the Belgian Government on suspicion, without any information, arrested me on a charge of gold trouble, and imprisoned me for about 15 months without any evidence whatsoever, and during my imprisonment they seized all my property and sold it by public auction, by which I had suffered great loss." Signed by Ahmed Isac, resident of Ruanda-Urundi for 20 years.

These three cases were investigated by the Visiting Mission. It found that Nanji Jamal Kalla deserved his punishment. For Mulla Atta Muhammed it recommended leniency. As for Ahmed Isac, the Mission appraised his punishment as "vigorous" and attempted to obtain further information, but he had left on a long business trip.

These petitions, and others, raised questions at the Council table. Why this sudden deportation of Asians after such long residence? "The government wants to rid the territory of Indians," Ahmed Isac had insisted.

"It is regrettable," observed the Belgian Government in its own de-

The Black Man's Burden *continued*

fense, "that each time Africans are charged with stealing gold [unwrought gold from the mines] such charges invariably lead to the apprehension of Asians, without whose help those Africans would not be able to dispose of the proceeds of their offense."

These gold-stealing gold-mine workers receive an average wage of 2 francs a day. Better wages were recommended by the Council—with success.

It is obvious, of course, that discrimination against Asians does exist in some territories, and it is equally plain that in some Asians enjoy wider privileges than indigenous Africans (a circumstance which, in South Africa, has resulted in terrible Afro-Indian rioting).

In Tanganyika, the Shariff Is-Hak Community, unwilling to be considered Negroes, in a communication to the Council argue an ancestral connection with Arabia. "According to the Muslim Religion, it is unlawful and irreligious for any Muslim to change his race," they protest. But this insistence on race is highly uncharacteristic of Muslims, and the real question seems to be whether the people of Shariff Is-Hak suffer by being classed as Africans.

The British Government contends that laws appearing to give evidence of discrimination are based on difference in religious customs and hygienic practices. But differences in customs cannot account for such doubts of the even-handedness of justice as these:

- "Should a black person be involved in a court case with a European and the latter is clearly in the wrong, the European judge will always find that he is right, and the poor black man, because of his dark skin, will be sent to prison to suffer there." (Ruanda-Urundi)
- "They [the authorities] thought that I was not a human being but a brute." (Ruanda-Urundi)
- "There still exists a COLOR BAR in this country, and that is a heartbreaking fact." (Tanganyika)

That Africans want more than dignity is indicated by such petitions as this:

- "First and foremost, we highly appreciate all that the British people have done for us. . . . Nevertheless, we still cry for more EDUCATION. Alas, without mass education an African can hardly go a step further."

This statement comes from the leaders of the Shinyanga Township in Tanganyika. They also requested more freedom of speech, but inquiry revealed they didn't want simply to say what they liked—they wanted newspapers in order to be able to say it at all.

- From the Chagga Council of the same territory came a similar plea: "We all crave for higher and better EDUCATION. Education that will make us as complete human beings as possible."
- And from Ruanda-Urundi: "There are so many children . . . who should have been at school. . . . There are no schools. There is only one school at Astrida, Ruanda . . . and this is only for Chief's sons and rich people."

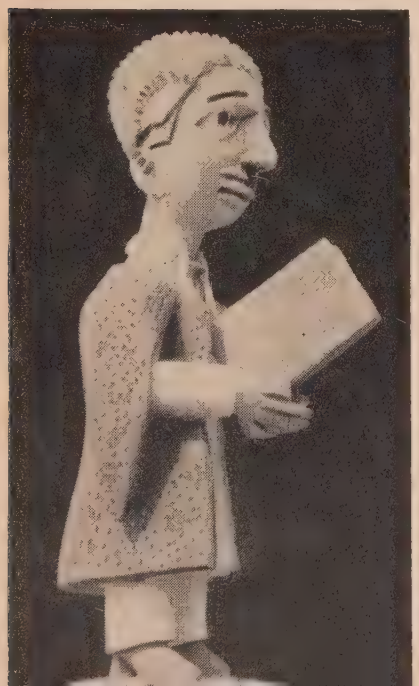
This eagerness for education throughout Africa would seem to be a recent development. Certainly it has caught the administrations sincerely unawares. The percentage of revenue devoted to schools has been found woefully inadequate. Incompetent bush schools and missions carry most of the burden. The complaint is general, in the petitions, that children are obliged willy-nilly to change their religion in order to get any sort of instruction. Both the Belgian and United Kingdom Governments have plans for improving these conditions.

The school at Astrida, mentioned in the petition, is the *Groupe Scolaire* run by the Brothers of Charity, one of the most interesting educational institutions in Africa. The entrance qualifications are strict. Even the height of applicants is regulated (perhaps to restrict pupils to the aristocratic Batutsi, the tallest people in the world). The regime is Spartan; only a third of the original enrollment graduates. Paragons are turned out. But these paragons are separated from the rest of the population by a lacuna of learning. Often, they must marry ignorant women, for there are no others.

Plans for the education of women are encouraging. One hears about the Council such aphorisms as: "Educate a man, and you educate an individual; educate a woman, and you found a culture."

Boundaries are as great a cause of unhappiness in Africa as elsewhere

THE LAWYER



THE JUDGE

and the Administering Authorities have been most obliging in their willingness to re-examine them on the petition of the tribes. Lengthy requests have come in from the Bugufi of Tanganyika begging to be reunited with Urundi whence they have been cut off by a clumsy frontier. And the Bahaya Union of Tanganyika complains: "We have been trading with Ruanda and Urundi in cattle, goats, sheeps, hides, and ghee for times immemorial. Now . . . nothing can be obtained except by means of smuggling. We had been marrying girls from our Ruanda and Urundi brothers without restrictions at all, and vice versa . . . now this may happen secretly with the fear of heavy imprisonment."

• The Ewe people of Togoland (who display a very advanced understanding of their problems) have been similarly bisected by the boundary between British and French trusteeships. Despite differences in administrative policy between the two authorities, efforts are being made to avoid separation which would obliterate a distinctive culture.

More than any other the issue of alienation of land raises demons. The petitions demonstrate that the indigenous peoples in many parts of Africa have become aware of their losses throughout a century of land-grabbing. Many cite facts, figures, and history, in best official form.

The Bakweri Land Committee of the Cameroons, for example, writes: "The area . . . belonging to the Bakweri Nations is about 580 square miles . . . 400 square miles were alienated to European individuals and companies (in the 19th century). . . . Some time ago the British Government found that the Native reserves were very inadequate, so more land was added, thus reducing very negligibly, of course, the number of hectares alienated.

"Other parts . . . are proclaimed Crown Lands thus keeping away natives from using them. We do not think this is justifiable as we are a Mandated Territory, and not a British Colony."

The United Kingdom replied, admitting injustices of a past generation, but stating that things had been taken in hand by the formation of the Cameroons Development Corporation which would be devoted to the welfare of the indigenes. The indigenes shot back with, "The Trusteeship Council knows that there can be very great difference between nice words on paper and actual practice."

The United Kingdom observed that the plantations of Germans, now vacant, are rich, but that "it was considered that the indigenous population . . . are not as yet competent to obtain, unaided, the maximum benefit from these . . . and some arrangement was therefore required to develop them in their interest."

The Bakweri petition, in rebuttal, snaps: "It is surely a bad coach who says, 'Let me ride while you watch'."

The kernel of the matter is this: The very fact that petitions are made shows that the seed of self-government is alive. Discussions may come up in Council as to the efficacy of flogging as a punishment for Africans. The conclusion is less important than the fact that the Africans themselves have decided that flogging is an insult. There is no issue, however complex, that comes before the Council that is over the heads of the people. The long years of ignorance are at an end. And there is little fear of reprisals.

The enthusiastic use of the right of petition by Africans raises the question why none came in from New Guinea. Are New Guineans very backward, or very happy? Complaints of individual abuse also have not been received from the French trusteeships—Togoland and the Cameroons. This may be the result of the better race relations said to exist in French territories.

The Trusteeship Council's practical powers to help the people of the trust territories are extremely limited. It cannot officially condemn an administration, or refuse to believe the explanations given by Administering Authorities. But it can collect information from which conclusions are bound to be drawn; it can then make recommendations; it can get the powers concerned at least to promise improvement. In other words, it relies entirely upon moral suasion and the good faith of its own members.

The morality of governments is measured by the morality of people. While nothing can silence the voice which has been raised from the trust territories, it must gain in volume and purpose if the other peoples of the world are to hear it.

If they don't, then the "civilized" countries can congratulate themselves that, in the Trusteeship Council, they have put over on the Africans still another gramophone.

THE DOCTOR

How the White Man looks to an African artist

The pictures which illustrate this article represent the work of a great African artist, Mr. Thomas Ona, a native of Ijebu-Ode, who at present lives in Lagos. A sculptor blessed with an irresistible sense of humor, Mr. Ona carves his figures in soft white wood and then colors them in gay blues, pinks, greens, reds. Details, umbrellas, eye glasses, hats, pipes, are carved separately and are removable. The lead picture shows Mr. Ona's impression of a Visiting Mission.

From a Moscow office to a Great Neck restaurant

Inside the UN

By V. X. MADISON

Gunnar Fagrell, UNW's Scandinavian editor, has recently returned from crowded weeks in Moscow. In the course of his visit, Mr. Fagrell made a point of looking over the Information Center of the United Nations to find out how it fulfills its important function in the USSR. Here is his report.

MANY things in Moscow still impart to the city a mystical atmosphere. In moonlight the Byzantine domes and walls of the Kremlin create a ghostlike impression. One frequently meets people who might have stepped right out of a Dostoievski novel. Often the faces of passers-by have that far-away look which Westerners still tend to interpret as the hallmark of the inscrutable slav soul.

There is, however, nothing mystical nor even mysterious about the United Nations Information Center in Moscow. No MVD agent stands guard outside the building at 15, Hohlovski Pereulok, where the office is located. And the large functional sign which proclaims that here one may learn all about the UN is anything but conspiratorial. Anyone who "wants to know" may simply walk in and satisfy his curiosity without formalities.

That is exactly what I did. I was eager to find out just how interested the people of the Soviet capital really are in the United Nations. I also wanted to discover the extent to which they are informed about it, and by whom, and by what means. So one morning I walked into the office —unannounced and unheralded.

I was greeted at the reception desk by a friendly woman who ushered me into the main offices. As I entered and looked around, I was surprised by their spaciousness. Only those who know how extremely difficult it is in Moscow to find the most modest room can appreciate the fact that the Information Center consists of four large rooms, one of them arranged as a comfortable reading room. All around the walls, in book cases, on racks and shelves, the information material was neatly arrayed according to subjects. The pamphlets are overwhelmingly in Russian—they have been translated at Lake Success—but I saw some material in English as well. I also inspected a large stock of UN photographs and was pleased and amused to notice many portraits of Western statesmen who by no stretch of imagination could be called favorites with Soviet official circles.

The Center is run by three UN officials. They are Michael M. Vavilov, director, his deputy Ivan V. Ganin, and Mrs. Antonina Koltzova. Mr. Vavilov and Mrs. Koltzova both lived for a long time in the United States. Mr. Ganin learned his English in the Soviet Union. My inquiries were answered by Mrs. Koltzova in a free and open manner.

"It goes without saying," she explained, "that we are pitifully understaffed to undertake the gigantic task of telling the 200 million inhabitants of the Soviet Union about the United Nations and its work. But Lake Success has evidently no budget for an increase of our personnel."

I asked what were the greatest handicaps the office was up against.

"First of all," replied Mrs. Koltzova without hesitation, "we would like to hire people for translating our material into some of the more important languages spoken within the Soviet Union. Here, of course, Russian is the official language. But in order to distribute our material as widely as we should, we ought to be able to have it in other languages of the Soviet Union as well. For example, we get numerous requests, which we are unable to meet, for literature in the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian languages."

Mrs. Koltzova's complaint reminded me of a similar situation I encountered not long ago in the UN Information Center in Copenhagen. Although the latter is the only office of its kind in Scandinavia, it hasn't a single Norwegian translator, and even translations into Danish and Swedish are limited because of lack of funds.

My next question to Mrs. Koltzova was whether in her experience Russian interest in the United Nations was on the upswing, or was declining.

"There is no definite, certain trend either way," she answered. "Public interest may lag for awhile, then suddenly pick up again, according to events which stimulate it. United Nations Day—October 24—heightened interest in the UN in many quarters. When the General Assembly moved to Paris, we enjoyed a veritable boom. But when too much time passes between dramatic events which catch the public's imagination, concern for the UN dwindles."

"How do you establish contact with the Russian public, and how do you disseminate information about the UN?" I asked.

"As a rule," she said, "we take the initiative in inviting various groups to the Center and then show them our material. In most cases, once we have succeeded in bringing them

here and they had a chance to study our booklets, graphs, and pictures, their interest in the UN is aroused, and requests for all types of material pour in."

When I queried Mrs. Koltzova about her experience with visual information, she herself became excited.

"The best," she declared emphatically. "One of our greatest successes so far was the showing of United Nations moving pictures to a group of leading movie personalities. The head of the USSR Film Bureau was so enthusiastic about one of the films that he arranged to have it subtitled in Russian and had it put on the program in all the regular movie houses."

With my last questions I hoped to gauge to some extent the orientation of the average Russian's mind. "Which UN activities appeal the most to the Russian people?" I inquired, "and what aspect of the work of the UN appears to be of the greatest interest to the Moscovite who takes the trouble to visit the Information Center?"

As always, Mrs. Koltzova had a ready reply.

"It is rather natural," she explained, "that the people want information about the role played by the Soviet Union in the United Nations. Particularly are they anxious to learn about the Security Council."

"But there is something else, I must say," Mrs. Koltzova added. "We have found that interest among the public is just as strong in the activities of the Specialized Agencies as in the political activities of the UN. More people want to know about the work of the FAO, for example, than about anything else. People here, you know, are very serious minded."

Walking home through the surging crowds of the Moscow streets I thought over the results of my inspection. The work of the Information Center, I reflected, is perhaps only a small rent in the fog, a minor accomplishment, but one which in time may turn out to be of far greater importance than we can even remotely perceive today.

But before that can happen the delegates of Lake Success must see more clearly and realistically the significance of the Information Center. First of all, they must show greater foresight during the budget debates and provide information offices with sufficient funds to carry out their work efficiently among an ever-increasing number of people around the globe. Upon the recognition of that vital task may depend the world-wide acceptance and even the future of the entire organization.

UN's New Movie Man

We have visited Jan Gunnar Lindstrom, new Acting Director of the Films and Visual Information Division. A stocky, broad shouldered Swede of 37, with hard blue eyes, he has been in the US since early this year, but hasn't yet visited Hollywood. He is, however, very eager to meet producers, and persuade them to make pictures about the UN. His division would help them, he says, even with footage from the film library. "We can't just ask for favors," he explains, adding that he actually thought he could make profitable the production and distribution of pictures about the United Nations.

The Acting Director is well aware of the fact that the moving picture industry is up against a mounting crisis, both financial and artistic, all around the world. He is inclined to think, however, that salvation is at hand—in the form of more realistic pictures with a semi-documentary background. An encouraging sign is that during the last year many pictures were produced which prove that the movie makers are sensitive to new currents. Significantly enough, these superior pictures were the greatest money makers in Europe as well as in the United States.

We asked Mr. Lindstrom which pictures he particularly liked. He politely refused to name a favorite. His most emphatic rave was a murmur: "I quite enjoyed Brief Encounter."

He remained absolutely immovable when quizzed about his favorite actors and actresses. "There are many first rate people in every country," was his final word.

This was Mr. Lindstrom's first interview at Lake Success. To the mind of this stymied reporter, he passed the diplomatic test with flying colors.

Red Tape

We know a young bureaucrat newly employed at Lake Success who is slowly strangling on Secretariat red tape. In official parlance, he is currently expecting his contract for a "temporary permanent" job, and, in the meantime draws "an advance on his back-salary."

Around the Mediator

Ralph Bunche's refusal to accept a post in the US administration attracted much attention behind the Iron Curtain. The Polish weekly *Zolneirz Polski* declares that the mediator's case is a clear-cut proof of racial discrimination in the United States even on the highest level. In a detailed and favorable analysis of Mr. Bunche's career *La Dernière Heure* in Brussels comes to the same conclusion, but adds that Bunche typifies a new kind and new generation of administrators developed by the UN.

Epicure

Every Friday afternoon early this summer, as the Interim Committee adjourned its weekly meeting, His Excellency Dr. Max Henriquez Urena, delegate of the Dominican Republic, rose to suggest that the next session be convoked for the following Tuesday. His motion was always carried without question until one day a colleague asked Dr. Urena why he made a point of skipping Monday meetings.

"My friend," the Dominican delegate replied, "I think that meals are very important in a man's life. I do not relish the food either in the Cafeteria or in the Delegates' Restaurant. I drive for my luncheon to an excellent place I know of in Great

Inside UN *continued*

Neck. On Mondays that restaurant is closed. I prefer to stay in Manhattan."

A Great Conference

FIVE HUNDRED scientists from 40 nations will assemble on August 17 at Flushing Meadows to give the lie to an Englishman who died over 100 years ago.

This unusual international conference may well prove the most important ever held, for the Englishman whose thesis it will combat is the Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus. He preached that the production of food could not keep up with the rapidly growing populations and that the peoples of the modern world are irrevocably condemned to misery and starvation.

More recently William Vogt's *Road to Survival* and Fairfield Osborn's *Our Plundered Planet* revived the Malthusian thesis in all its devastating grimness. The United Nations called this Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources to prove that science and technology today know enough to prevent further depletion of the world's basic resources, and to lay the foundations of a new era of plenty.

The participants have been invited as individuals and not as representatives of their government. The Conference, consequently, will not be a political pow-wow but a seminar of scholars and technicians. The world's top experts on soil conservation, on game and fish, on timber, power, irrigation and so on will share their discoveries, teach each other their methods and pool their knowledge in a practical manner for the benefit of all mankind.

Expert Voices

These are the men who know that if only the techniques they have developed in the last 30 years would have been employed the world over, today there would be no critical shortage in many vital resources.

Similarly, through employment of conservation practices exhaustible resources such as minerals could be made to stretch much farther than in the past. In the US, for instance, iron and oil have been carelessly mined—to the point of near-exhaustion—while tremendous mineral wealth lies unexploited in such virgin regions as the interior of Brazil where the new methods could be employed from the start.

Vital Subjects

The UNSCCUR Conference will concern itself with six main categories: Land Resources, Mineral Resources, Fuels and Energy, Water, Forests and Wildlife, Fish and Marine Resources. Papers by experts in these fields will be read in morning sessions. Afternoon plenary meetings will deal with integration of the various sciences and will have as their themes: The World Resources Situation, Using and Conserving Resources, Resource Techniques of Special Interest to Less-Developed Countries, Experience in the Inter-Related Application of the Resource Techniques, and Summary and Review.

Each of the approximately 500 papers to be submitted will spell out the possible depletion of a certain natural resource.

The global character and the sharpness of focus of the subject matters are suggested by a few sample titles of the papers which have already been received at Lake Success: "Shark Oil Production in Egypt," "Peruvian Management of Bird Resources," "Sawmill Techniques in Siam," "Strip Mining in India," "The Chemical Utilization of Wood in the United States," "Soil Conservation in Switzerland," "Adaptation of Crops to New Environments in France," "Pond Culture of Warm-Water Fishes in Indonesia," "Conservation in Utilization for Space Heating in Denmark." To the average laymen studies like these may not sound very exciting, but ultimately they may prevent his descendants from living among prehistoric conditions on an exhausted earth.

Mrs. Roosevelt

Continued from page 41

other religions than there are Christians.

Our first task in finding ways to get along with the Communists is to find ways to make democracy mean what we say it does. And we have to make democracy work in our own country where other peoples can see it function. They can't see inside Russia but here they can see everything that happens, and can see that freedom of information is in itself one of our first advantages.

This country can, and must, show that democracy isn't just a word, but that it means regards for the rights of human beings; that it means that every human being, regardless of race or creed or color, has equal dignity and equal rights; that it means that we care about the kind of freedom which allows people to grow and allows them to develop their own potentialities and their own interests; that we recognize that democracy, as a basis for government, has to assume certain obligations to its citizens.

It will not be enough to establish as fact that we have military superiority. It will not be enough to prove our economic superiority. We are going to have to persuade the Russians and their friends that compromise is not only desirable but quite possible, and that it has to be reached. We must somehow convince them—and the most stubborn on our own side—that their ideology and ours can live in the world together without open conflict.

Finally, if democracy—and the blessings of it both as a way of government and a way of life—are going to win this contest for the support of the peoples of the world, we must have moral conviction and spiritual leadership. That is the challenge to America today. That is the challenge that we face in strengthening and making the United Nations work as a whole. Those are the standards that we set ourselves and, in the interest of the future, those are the standards by which we must live.

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PHILIP REED, BOARD CHAIRMAN, GENERAL ELECTRIC CO., PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

WORLD TRADE *section*

Philip Reed's Economic Credo

Britain's Sterling Crisis

Office Equipment International

THE CREDO of Philip D. Reed

The new President of the International Chamber of Commerc

states his World Trade philosoph

EDITOR'S NOTE

An extremely able and successful American businessman, Philip D. Reed seeks consciously to "de-nationalize" his own thinking. He is convinced that US economic leadership can be maintained only if today's executives become converts of the global view, and give it not mere lip-service but adopt it as a working creed. An ardent advocate of multilateral trade, he has declared that the US cannot continue to export infinitely more than it imports, thus myopically aggravating the dollar shortage, without risking disaster.

He believes, too, that American businessmen must themselves assume the task of educating people at home and abroad on the meaning and motivation of the US economy, and its unique responsibilities and opportunities in today's world.

Urbane, and a youthful 50, Mr. Reed is a persuasive spokesman for the liberal world-minded wing of the US business community. As Chairman of the Research and Policy group in the Committee for Economic Development (CED) he steered through many sessions the CED's endorsement of the International Trade Organization (ITO), a stand that contrasted sharply with the position taken on this issue by the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), the US Chamber of Commerce (C of C), and the National Foreign Trade Council (NFTC).

Mr. Reed is Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company and Chairman of the US division of the Anglo-American Productivity Council set up to make available to British industry various American techniques in plant synchronization, upgrading, on-the-job training, and the like.

As a policy maker Mr. Reed is addicted to the round table, as against the pound-the-table, method—to such an extent, indeed, that his diplomacy as well as his grooming have made him known as the Anthony Eden of industry. A good golfer, an indifferent pianist, an omnivorous reader of books on political economy and world trade, he is regarded in some quarters as the best bet the American business community has had to offer for the US presidency since the late Wendell L. Willkie.

TODAY there are three, perha four, economic systems in use b nations of great importance in th world scene.

One is Totalitarianism wherein a productive facilities are owned, an output controlled, by an all-powerfu state.

Another is a form of State Socia ism in which government owns an operates the great service or publi utility industries along with certai key manufacturing and mining in dustries.

And finally there are two varieti of private enterprise which differ i degree rather than in kind. The fir type might be described as the Eu ropean. While its proponents reco nize that competition, under certai circumstances and with certain re straints may serve a useful purpos they assert that price fixing and th allocation of production and ma kets may be frequently necessary i the interest not only of business bu also of labor and the general publi The second type of private enterpris can perhaps be described as th North American. Its proponents in sist that restrictive agreements be tween competitors are in almos every instance bad both for the in dustry and the entire community and that competition—all out an unrestricted—is the most effectiv stimulator and regulator of an economy.

I belong to the school that believe

in a high degree of competition.

That is why I think both our business community and government should promote policies and measures aimed at restoring to the world an economic climate in which enterprise based on individual initiative will flourish. If world trade is to be brought up to pre-war levels and thereafter expanded greatly, as it should be, it will be done primarily by tens of millions of transactions between individual people and concerns who are seeking in a multitude of different ways to do business with each other to their mutual profit.

The very diversity of these transactions and the ingenuity and flexibility of the individual businessman, each a specialist in his own field, provides the base upon which an expanding volume of world trade can be built. Government to government transactions cannot, never have and never will, provide that dynamic, high energy, opportunity-charged environment that is indispensable to the material progress of mankind.

The climate we seek cannot be created in a moment. Government trading, exchange controls and import restrictions which prevent or limit enterprise based on individual initiative cannct be discontinued overnight. Many, if not most of these restrictions and controls were made necessary by the terrible economic dislocations that followed in the wake of war. But great and constant pressure must be applied to any government if it is to do hard, politically unpopular things and if it is to divest itself of powers and controls already acquired. That pressure it is the duty of world business to generate and to apply.

The timing of the relaxation of many of these controls is of vital importance. A number of economic and perhaps psychological factors must be synchronized — in approximate balance—before the blockage is removed.

I refer particularly to the current chorus which becomes louder and clearer as national production rises in most countries, that convertibility of currency is the key to our economic problems. This reminds me of the ancient question, "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" I have never resolved that dilemma but I am reasonably sure that convertibility of curencies is inseparable from a number of other economic factors. Let us examine for a moment the issue: How can currencies be made convertible?

Surely the first requirement is that people shall have confidence in the strength and stability of their own currencies, otherwise they will not take it in exchange for the things they produce, and people of other countries will not accept it in exchange for their own money or goods.

To create confidence in a currency, the internal economy of the country must be sound. This requires sound fiscal and monetary policies, balanced budgets and stable prices. Very good. Let us assume that sound policies have been adopted and that budget balancing is in process. The third factor, stable prices, requires that the country's production of goods must be in such quantity, of such quality and at such costs as are necessary not only to fill domestic requirements of goods but also to provide saleable exports sufficient to pay for the things the country must import from abroad. Adequate production and saleable exports are therefore the next links in the chain leading to currency convertibility.

And here we begin to find ourselves on strangely familiar ground. The export sales managers come to us and say that the necessary volume of exports cannot be sold on a barter or bilateral trade basis and that the only way to free the potential export markets and keep exports moving is to make currency convertible.

If my chain of reasoning has been logical, that logic would seem to suggest that the obstacle to making currencies convertible is the fact that we have currencies which are not convertible!

The point I am trying to illustrate is that the interrelationships of convertible currencies, production, internal monetary and fiscal policies, exports and prices, is very close, indeed, and that all of these things must be worked on together and brought somewhere near equilibrium before all controls in any single field can be safely and successfully dropped. It is at the point when approximate balance is approached that wise judgment and, not infrequently, high courage is required of government to take the right steps at the right time and in the right way.

Here again, bearing in mind the inherent inertia of government and the natural reluctance of bureaucracy to take risks, I submit it is the duty of business leaders to press for intelligent, courageous action by their governments, designed to recreate an economic environment in which millions of individual enterprises will find both opportunity and incentive to buy and sell more and more goods in world markets, to invest their funds in foreign enterprise and to follow them up with all the technical and managerial knowledge, skill and experience they possess.

Too many businessmen the world over have considered their duty to society discharged by the profitable operation of a useful business enterprise. They have failed to appreciate that they themselves, being closest to and therefore knowing most about the economic system under which they operate, have a deep responsibility to ther fellow citizens to explain the workings of their system.

Unless and until businessmen of all countries accept their responsibility as educators, we shall be living on unfirm and shifting sands. Honest, objective economic studies, not by economists but by business leaders themselves, is the first step. The second is the dissemination of this material in simple and understandable form to educators, to government officials, to employees, their families and neighbors and to thought leaders throughout the country. This is not primarily a job for business associations, although they can help. It is largely an individual company job that will be done only when businessmen recognize and accept their responsibility really to do something about lifting the standards of economic literacy in the communities in which they live.

An American Looks at the British Sterling Crisis

By DONALD HEATHERINGTON

Director, European Division
National Foreign Trade Council

THE world again faces an economic crisis centered in Britain but involving countries and people far removed from London or Manchester. Its effects are felt by cotton and tobacco planters of the American South, by wheat farmers in Western Canada, by sheep-herders in Australia, by merchants in Alexandria and Calcutta, by producers and consumers the world around.

For two reasons an economic crisis in Britain immediately becomes international in scope and concern. 1. Sterling is the only currency besides the US dollar that is genuinely international, though it is less so than when the phrase "as good as sterling" was superlative praise. 2. Britain as one of the two great trading nations of the world depends for its existence on ability to buy and sell in the international market place.

Other nations may buy or sell more per person, but in almost every instance their ability to buy or sell without being handicapped by financial considerations has been due to the character of sterling. Over the years the franc, the guilder, the lira, and the mark disappeared as other than local currencies, occasionally used in other areas, but sterling retained and even expanded its influence.

What must an international currency be? What are its criteria? It must, of course, be universally acceptable, which involves broad confidence in the strength of the economy of the nation whose currency it is. It must be in fairly abundant supply and there must be an equivalent demand. It must be convertible, capable of being exchanged in both directions for other currencies.

There are currencies able to meet one, two or three of these tests, but at the outbreak of the war only sterling and the US dollar met all of the tests, and in addition possessed the extensive facilities needed to finance world commerce. Today, neither sterling nor the dollar quite measure up to the requirements. Sterling is still in abundant supply, perhaps too abundant. The demand for sterling is high, but it is a qualified demand. The pound is not now freely convertible into all currencies. And the lack of confidence in the future strength of the British economy and in the stability of its currency makes it less than universally acceptable.

To operate an international currency a nation must be able to respond to sudden demands, and like a bank it must have ample liquid reserves to accommodate the needs of those who rely on it. Britain can no longer meet these demands for any considerable period or for any large amounts. While the United States has gold reserves alone in excess of $24 billion, Britain today has only slightly more than the equivalent of $1,600,000,000 in gold and dollars. On this narrow base it must conduct not only its own trad which in 1948 amounted to som $15,000,000,000, but much of th nearly $12 billion trade of all th rest of the sterling area. Many add tional countries likewise look t London as a trade financing cente

On this narrow base of reserve London is also required to operat an international business in insu ance, transportation, and a myria of banking services. Like trade i goods, these service activities hel Britain to earn its living, but the cannot be run on a shoestring.

Thus, the immediate meaning o the current crisis is that the reserve on which Britain and so many othe rely for working balances and tem porary accommodation in emerge cies, have fallen well below what ha previously been the accepted min mum, and may fall still lower. I fact, Britain with all its obligatio has only a few millions more of gol and dollar reserves than Switzerlan a country with one-tenth its popul tion and foreign trade.

There are, of course, secondar reserves in the form of investment and property holdings of British na tionals which might be exchange for gold and dollars, but this woul deprive the United Kingdom of th annual earnings essential to the f nancing of purchases which mus be made to keep its economy going Moreover, some of the investment are pledged to the Reconstructio Finance Corporation for mone

"The pathos of distance," said James Huneker, "becomes the bathos of propinquity". This aphorism applies as much to economics as to love. Perspective in both is often difficult to achieve. But a vantage point 3000 miles away can sometimes help. Hence, UNW is particularly pleased to present in the two following articles an analysis of the British sterling crisis by an American expert on the UK's economy, and an analysis of the American decline in production and employment by a British expert on the US economy.

loaned before the inauguration of Lend-Lease. Others represent holdings of British insurance companies against potential claims or are in manufacturing and marketing subsidiaries which give British firms access to the US market in the same way that American firms operate abroad. The existence of these assets is a bolstering factor but, as any New Englander will tell you, dipping into capital is scarcely the way to get ahead. To borrow from capital when the rainy day arrives may be permissible, but something else must be done if the rain continues.

The first drop in British reserves was a direct consequence of the war. For nearly two years Britain financed its purchases of arms, equipment and consumer goods from them and from the proceeds of the sale or collateral-pledging of investments. During the interval between the end of Lend-Lease and the approval of the American loan of $3,750,000,000 it again drew on reserves. With the exhaustion of the loan, the reserves were tapped to carry over until the Marshall Plan provided new dollar aid. Even after the Economic Co-operation Administration opened for business, it was necessary for Britain to pay its bills from reserves while awaiting reimbursement.

Substantial and vital as Marshall aid has been, the dollars of Britain and the rest of the sterling area have still been insufficient to cover all needs. Between April 1, 1948, and March 31, 1949, about $325,000,000 were drawn from reserves to enable some of the members of the area to maintain their purchases of dollar goods, not only from the United States, but also from Canada, parts of South and Central America, Belgium, and a few others which have been in a position to refuse to sell except for dollars.

Last April the International Finance Committee of the National Foreign Trade Council in a report on sterling said: "Temporarily, the issue has been met by co-operative efforts to keep sterling area dollar expenditures at a minimum and by meeting the net dollar deficit of the self-governing portions of the area from existing reserves and from that portion of current earnings freed for such use . . . This situation cannot go on indefinitely. The time is approaching when either a balance will have to be achieved in dollar expenditures or means developed to cover the total deficit."

This forecast has now become a reality. Events since April have moved rapidly. Another $260,000,000 has been drained from reserves. In the absence of any abnormal expenditures, the explanation lies in the decline of dollar revenues of the sterling area as a whole without a corresponding contraction in spending. One report suggests that dollar sales by the sterling area of rubber, tin, cocoa, and wool dropped from $100,000,000 in the first quarter of 1949 to half that amount in the second. The slowing down of certain lines of business activity in the United States was probably responsible in part, but the increased rumors of an impending devaluation of sterling undoubtedly caused a number of prospective buyers to delay placing their orders. With a cheaper pound their imports would cost fewer dollars, permitting either reduced costs or greater profits.

In the prewar era a drop in sales no greater than this would have been taken in stride. It would have been assumed that any loss in reserves would be replaced before the end of the year. Then, however, reserves were nearly three times what they are now—and six to eight times larger in terms of what they could buy—and there was greater flexibility within the economy.

To many the course of the British economy since the end of the war has seemed to run from crisis to crisis.

Actually, in both production and export trade, great progress has been made. Manufacturing output alone has reached a point 40 per cent above the 1938 average, while the amount of exports in the first half of this year was 52 per cent more than in 1938.

Every effort has been exerted to hold down expenditures on imports and to search out sources of supply where goods might be obtained without the surrender of precious dollars.

The policy of "austerity" has sought to minimize home consumption to ensure the release of still more to ship abroad in exchange for food, raw materials, and industrial equipment. Importers wishing to bring a product from a dollar country into Britain have been forced to pass the scrutiny of the import control officials and the custodians of the exchange reserves, satisfying them of the "essential" character of the product. Even so, exhortation, increased effort and self-denial have not been enough to bridge the gap between earnings and payments abroad, particularly dollar payments.

Many explanations are offered for failure to solve this seemingly intractable problem.

The destruction and losses at home and abroad during the war

would have made the task formidable in any event.

Add to this the greater dependence on the Western Hemisphere as a source of supply not only for the United Kingdom, but all Western Europe and parts of the Middle and Far East as well, due to the sheer lack of these items elsewhere or their unavailability for trade.

Add further the breakdown in the delicate mechanism of world finance, the compartmentalization of national economies, and the troubled political scene.

Furthermore, as the International Finance Committee noted in the survey previously mentioned, the British task was made harder by the fact that not only must the wartime losses be offset, but prewar trends of many years standing must be reversed.

A substantial increase in output per man hour at lower unit cost, necessary to strengthen Britain, can be obtained, said the Committee, "only by adopting a flexible approach and by readiness to make changes. It is not mere coincidence that Britain's period of economic greatness was also the period of bold enterprise, while the decline . . . has paralleled an increasing emphasis on security, whether individual, organizational or national." (The fruits of enterprise should not, of course, be confused with excesses of imperialism.)

The demand for national self-sufficiency and security has resulted in the economic waste incident to the war being followed by economic waste resulting from attempting to do too much too fast. Not only has Britain erred in this, but it has in turn been injured by the spread of an attitude of self-sufficiency among other nations.

Sterling also has been weakened by the existence of the war-created claims known as the sterling balances, held by a large number of countries and at one time amounting to more than £4,000,000,000. They have now been sharply reduced through settlements of counter claims, sales of foreign property, transfer of obligations and investments, and by exports from Britain. This is an often-overlooked point. Exports have expanded but the goods thus sold have merely paid off old debts and have not brought anything back that could be eaten, worn or transformed into the finished products of industry. The British worker has been forced to forego the product of his own labor and through his government to ask for aid from the United States and Canada.

The United Kingdom for many years bought more from the United States than it sold to Americans. Dollars flowed into England, however, from other parts of the sterling area and the world in sufficient amount to enable Britain not only to meet its own bills but to exchange dollars for sterling held by countries from whom Britain also bought in excess of what was there sold. This was convertibility.

The books were balanced by Britain's ability to offset surplus receipts in one place against excess expenditures elsewhere.

Now, however, not only the United Kingdom, but many parts of the sterling area and other sections of the world have far greater needs and desires for dollars than they can earn. The well known "world dollar shortage" thus presses upon the United Kingdom entirely apart from its own direct dollar gap. India, Australia, South Africa, all with programs of their own and with aspirations for industrial development are more than able to use every dollar they create by their own effort and every additional dollar they can obtain from other parts of the sterling area.

Innumerable solutions have been proposed to this problem, but none offer much in the way of promise for elimination of Britain's own dollar gap. While it may be substantially reduced, the only possibilities for achieving a direct balance are by a great increase in American imports of British goods or the opening up of new sources of supply for British imports.

Both methods are now being tried. For Britain and the world at large, however, the most effective and best solution would be the achievement of a new balance in world trade on a multilateral basis. Today, this seems a universal solvent.

A Primer on the Sterling Bloc

1. *What's the sterling area?*

The sterling area consists of a group of countries whose currencies are linked to sterling and which for the most part maintain their exchange reserves in the form of sterling deposits or British Government obligations. In its original form it was known as the sterling bloc and was an informal, voluntary association. Since the outbreak of the war it has been formally defined by reciprocal laws or orders of the various members, but remains a voluntary association.

2. *Who are its members?*

At present the members of the sterling area are the United Kingdom and those colonial territories or dependencies within the United Kingdom Monetary Area (as defined by the International Monetary Fund),

and Eire, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Iraq, Iceland. Canada is not a member.

3. *Why do they belong?*

In prewar days the primary reasons were the ability to hold reserves in earnings assets rather than in gold, to obtain temporary financial accommodation from London, and to have access to the London exchange market for purposes of buying and selling other currencies. As a rule, countries within the area have conducted much of their foreign trade with the United Kingdom and with each other. Since the beginning of the war there has been the added advantage of greater freedom of financial transfers within the area by virtue of the integration of exchange controls of members.

4. *What is sterling reserve?*

Most of the reserves of the members other than the United Kingdom are held in the form of sterling. Thus, the ultimate reserves of the entire area are the gold and dollar holdings of Britain itself. The Union of South Africa, however, holds substantial gold reserves of its own.

5. *Is its local use general?*

No. Each member has its own currency unit defined by law, such as the Irish pound, the Indian rupee, the West African pound. By law, however, backing for the local currency may be or is required to be all or part in sterling. Each member, however, uses sterling as its international currency for purposes of trade settlements.

6. *Who runs the bloc?*

Each of the independent members is responsible for the conduct of its own affairs, including its import and exchange control. The monetary authorities of the United Kingdom exercise control over the use of sterling and act as custodian of the reserves. Broad policy matters are determined by the various members.

A Briton Looks at the American Recession

By RONALD BRECH

Noted British Economist

EVERYBODY, including the Americans, are debating how the United States recession will develop and how long and severe it will be. Fifteen months ago when commodity prices in the United States experienced their first post-war break American industrialists and economists were convinced that the slump had arrived. These fears proved to be ungrounded, although some years hence, historians may regard that period as the prelude to the era of post-war readjustment. Yet, strangely enough, when a similar decline in commodity prices reoccurred this year, most American economists and quite a number of industrialists were convinced that there was no sign of a business recession and that the chief domestic problem in America was to curb inflation.

What would be the repercussions, if any, on Britain and Western Europe were a genuine slump to develop on the other side of the Atlantic. From Europe, at any rate, it looks as if a recession in the United States has not only started, but is already spreading quite rapidly. The crucial question, however, is whether the economic relations between the various countries of the world have altered to such an extent since the war, that it is possible to isolate a slump in one country and to prevent its repercussions from effecting the others.

When an international monetary system existed, such as the gold standard up to 1914 and again between 1925 and 1931, the effects of a decline in business activity in one of the more important countries was quickly translated to the others. As prices fell, there was usually a flight of capital which contracted the amount of money available and tended to force prices down still further. On the other hand, the lower prices in that country tended to make world prices decline and this in turn meant that enterprise in the other countries incurred losses and was, therefore, curtailed.

Even after the breakdown of the gold standard in 1931, when no proper international currency existed, a recession in one country was still transmitted to another. Thus, for example, in autumn 1937, when the United States experienced a minor slump, it was soon reproduced in Europe, although at that time countries were trying to pursue independent economic policies and were exercising fairly rigid foreign exchange controls. But during this period capital movements were only on a relatively very small scale—exchange control prevented any large-scale transfers—and this fact at least helped to limit the effects of the depression. There were, of course, other factors as well, such as the rearmament of Europe and the self-sufficient policies pursued by Germany and Italy. Nevertheless, the important thing was that, despite the existence of independent national economic policies and various forms of exchange control, Britain and the rest

of Europe were affected by the industrial recession which commenced in the United States.

The transmission of a recession from one country to another—or to put it more starkly, the export of unemployment from one country to another—is caused by the existence of normal trade relations between the countries and reinforced by movements of capital and by various psychological factors. To what extent does this still apply to the postwar world? In the first place, transfers of capital between countries, and more particularly between Europe and the Western Hemisphere, are on a much smaller scale than before the war. Secondly, trade between Europe and the Western Hemisphere is grossly out of balance. And thirdly, countries in Western Europe are avowedly pursuing policies of full employment.

These three factors alone tend to suggest that Europe could isolate itself from a postwar slump in the United States. But if the problem is examined more deeply, this suggestion appears to be false. At least the lack of capital movements will have a moderating influence. But one important capital movement is, of course, Marshall aid. It is in fact partly a gift and partly a loan from the United States to Western Europe. If it is maintained on the same scale as hitherto, then a fall in prices in the United States should enable Western Europe to purchase larger quantities of goods—it would in fact be equivalent to the terms of trade moving in Europe's favor.

But any fall in prices in the United States would also mean that European exports to America—as small as they are—would decline and may even cease. Hence the amount of earned dollars available to Europe would dwindle possibly to nothing, which would tend to restrict Europe's purchasing power in the United States. It is conceivable that on balance Europe would gain, provided that the allocation of Marshall aid was not cut, because the larger quantities of goods which could be purchased from ECA funds may more than compensate the loss of imports hitherto purchased with earned dollars.

There are, however, two other points to be considered. Although strong economic arguments can be advanced in favor of the American Government maintaining or even increasing the annual allotment of Marshall aid—not so much to help Europe, but to mitigate the effects of the recession in the United States—it will be politically difficult for any government to pursue such a policy in such circumstances. The public clamor will be to *reduce* governmental expenditure and the burden of taxes. In any case, the government's revenue from income and other taxes would tend to decline as industrial activity fell, and this alone would tend to limit governmental expenditure. The chances are, therefore, that the amount of Marshall aid will be cut, so that the loss in European exports to the United States would cause a corresponding decline in Europe's imports. Since most of Europe's imports from America consist of raw materials, it would mean a reduction in the amount available and, therefore, in employment, while European countries would tend to compete with each other more vigorously for the remaining export markets. In this way the effects of an American recession will be transmitted to Europe.

Then there is the psychological reaction. A sharp fall in prices in the United States and a subsequent decline in industrial activity is certain to be viewed with grave apprehension in Europe, especially as in the past a recession in America always made itself felt across the Atlantic. If this psychological reaction is strong it may even *precipitate a recession in Europe*. Buyers will try to hold off from the market and sellers try to reduce their commitments before the slump occurs. Such sympathetic repercussions, however, are only serious if a maladjustment already exists in the economic structure of the countries concerned. And this is unfortunately true of Britain and Western Europe.

This is a brief and perhaps oversimplified description of the probable effects of American recession on Europe. There are many other complicating issues which should, of course, be taken into consideration. For example, much of Britain's dollar deficit is with Canada and not the United States. Again, Britain will probably have to finance its contractual purchase of Canadian wheat with earned dollars instead of with Marshall funds. Moreover, other countries in the Western Hemisphere may be affected, and this in turn may have repercussions in Europe. But the main point is that unless Marshall aid is maintained, Britain and Western Europe are certain to be embroiled. Even if Marshall aid is maintained, the effects of an American slump may still be felt across the Atlantic, but only after a period of time. And the recession in Britain and Western Europe will be caused by a lack of imports—there will be unemployment because there will be less raw materials to process. This is likely to be the pattern of the postwar slump, in contradistinction to its pre-war counterpart which was generally induced by a lack of domestic purchasing power.

"Britain Will Show the World"

a forecast of austerity's official end . . . by the Right Honorable Herbert Morrison . . . in his article on page 60.

Telling the American Story: By HERBERT HARRIS

SIXTH IN A SERIES

Office Equipment International

From Stockholm to Singapore US office machines are speeding the managerial revolution

PART TWO

WHEN the Remington typewriter was recognized, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, as the first practical "mechanical word machine," it was introduced complete with Russian keyboard to the Czarist bureaucracy in St. Petersburg in 1886. A year later, it made its debut in London, and appeared in Brussels in 1888, in Rome in 1889, in Amsterdam in 1890, and in Athens in 1896.

When in 1914 Thomas J. Watson was elected president of the Computing-Tabulating-Recording Company, forerunner of today's IBM, he promptly took two major steps: he turned his company's attention to foreign markets, an emphasis that was to eventuate in the present IBM slogan, that economic philosophy on a thumbnail: "World Peace Through World Trade." And among other things to help build overseas markets, he borrowed $40,000 from the Guaranty Trust Company to develop a research and engineering program which, up to 1949, has yielded 140 new inventions or refinements in office equipment.

As early as 1916 IBM had established distribution outlets in Norway and Argentina. In 1920 it formed the Société Internationale des Machines Commerciales in France where eight years later it set up manufacturing and machine assembly for IBM products, a procedure soon extended to Germany and Italy.

Today the IBM's World Trade Division which is in charge of all overseas operations has a personnel of more than 6,000—exclusive of Japan, Indonesia and Poland where certain changes that followed in the wake of World War II have either thwarted or retarded IBM's reorganization of its former affiliates.

Remington Rand, its real overseas activity dating from the same time as IBM's, has likewise stressed the profits and potentialities of the global view.

In Holland, for example, a country that never before had an office equipment industry, Remington Rand has used US funds and know-how to build up a plant at Zeist to manufacture typewriters with all-Dutch labor.

In the United Kingdom, to assist the British to overcome their hard-currency plight, Remington Rand affiliates are conducting a special export drive to acquire foreign exchange.

Hence from the plant at Welbridge, England, Kardex systems which show at a glance, by means of mutable graphic signals, the exact status of inventory, sales volume, accounts receivable, and the like, are being pushed at attractive prices for sterling from the Commonwealth bloc, for dollars from the Continent.

The same sort of campaign is being waged at the Park Royal factory which makes carbon papers, ribbons, file folders and at the Hillington, Scotland, branch which manufactures both standard and portable typewriters.

In India, as Nehru's own bold new program for industrial expansion calls for more and yet more steel, the gigantic Tata Iron and Steel Company recently installed Remington accounting machines to keep track of the Provident Fund (social security) payments for 31,000 employees, and to keep track of 18,000 items in warehouse and tool crib.

In Malaya when the government adopted the income tax, it simultaneously adopted Remington adding machines, filing cabinets, and account controls for its record of impost and collection in Singapore.

In Australia, the Remington affiliate

ACCOUNTING MACHINE ASSEMBLY LINE IN THE CALCUTTA, INDIA, PLANT OF REMINGTON RAND

Chartres, Ltd., of Sidney, has devised a new method for servicing typewriters, calculators and other equipment in the offices and factories and government departments, city and national—a method that may be adopted in the United States. An intensively trained team of 26 young women—attired in a feminine variant of an Aussie army uniform—test, clean and oil all machines every two weeks.

In Egypt, at the Farouk airport in Cairo, the regional office of the Trans-World Airline (TWA) keeps tabs on 32,500 items of supplies for its Middle East operations by means of a Kardex stock control. In Sweden the banking house of Aktiebolaget Svenska Handelmbanken handles 250,000 customer-loan, credit and liability records with similar apparatus.

Despite all the tremendous headway Remington Rand, IBM, and other US office equipment makers have made in markets abroad, and despite their incredibly varied contributions to the material well-being of other peoples, they are up against psychological and financial blocks and limitations that can only be cleared away by sensitive merchandising and further improvement in living standards around the world.

In the first place, outside the USSR which is not at the moment an ideal outlet for US office equipment, the American worship of efficiency as the *summum bonum* is neither intense nor widespread. Willingness to try the new, in the US almost a business habit, is hardly a reflex action in Brazil of the long siesta. The American urgency to get it done fast does not prevail in the France of the long *déjeuner* or the England of the long weekend or the Mexico of *mañana*.

Old habits die hard. Human inertia, and the specious security and even smugness of the hand-me-down patterns of doing business, private or public, continue to offer their resistance to any over-rapid influx of technology into the office, American style.

Furthermore, as US office equipment, including that made in factories abroad, becomes more complicated, the same complaints now cited by American businessmen can be expected to be echoed from all quarters.

First of all, a sizable school of US executives contends that office work cannot be converted to the stop-watch precisions of the conveyor belt; that there are always the unpredictables and the Bismarckian imponderabilia that only human judgment can handle; that office mechanization must be watched carefully lest, through rigidity, it introduce its own law of diminishing returns.

Secondly, some of the more complex mechanisms do get out of whack, electric wires get tangled, impulses are not properly relayed, the hole alignments on punch cards go awry, and the result is that an elaborate set of figures may have to be worked over a second time to get it right.

Less valid objections are those of management people who complain that the 19,000 mechanics qualified to service office equipment in the US are too few altogether, and that there are undue delays in maintenance and repair. This grievance belongs more in the realm of rumor and gossip that magnify a few isolated incidents into a wholesale condemnation. But every time it is repeated it nonetheless has the effect of building up sales resistance.

Actually, the office equipment companies are making very special efforts to have on tap a supply of servicing technicians who have been graduated from courses often as rigorous as anything at MIT. Both IBM and Remington conduct classes in blue-

print reading, trigonometry, electronics, and many kindred subjects to prepare skilled craftsmen in the shop for training in maintenance and repair.

To combat fears, still pervasive overseas, that to install calculators and the like will cause loss of jobs among white-collar employees, office equipment agents might well be coached in the statistics of what happened on this score in the United States. They could point out, for example, that in 1900, out of 29 million gainfully employed, only 1 million had office jobs (clerical, filing, stenographic, bookkeeping) and that sales of office equipment were around $5 million. But in 1948, out of 61 million gainfully employed, 7½ million had office jobs, and sales of office machinery exceeded $1 billion.

From Science to Sales, from Sales to Science

The moral would seem to be plain: mechanized office equipment is the handmaiden of mechanized production. Moreover, by enabling management to plan more accurately, with facts at its finger tips, to cut overhead, to co-ordinate more effectively, office equipment has tended to create infinitely more jobs than it takes away. So far, in the US at any rate, it has had no history of "technological unemployment."

The future may tell another story as electronically controlled apparatus, with vacuum and mercury tubes for brain cells, comes more and more into its own. The cornerstone in this whole trend was the "Automatic Sequence Controlled Calculator" developed for Harvard University in 1944 by IBM in conjunction with the American Astronomical Society and Columbia University at a cost of $750,000. This mammoth contrivance weighs four tons. It is eight feet high, and fifty-one feet long. Its interior contains 530 miles of intricate wiring and 765,299 separate parts. It can solve, in 20 minutes, abstruse astronomical calculations that would take the most brilliantly trained expert in higher mathematics 10 weeks to compute. Subsequently, IBM has improved on even this phenomenon, building for its own purposes at its New York City headquarters a machine that has 250 times the output of the one at Harvard, and that will do 210,000 additions, subtractions or multiplications of 19 digits each within a single hour.

The Lilliputian progeny of this Gulliver, in the past two years particularly, have found favor in banks, insurance companies and large-scale manufacturing corporations. Since machines of this character require very constant and expert care, IBM rents them out; it never sells them. If your firm insists it wants to buy one, the IBM representative will ask if, by analogy, you think it necessary to purchase a railroad when you wish to travel by train.

In the laboratory, along the bourse, in the offices of insurance and shipping and manufacturing concerns overseas and in other places, these electronic devices are being looked at with awe and desire. Today the dollar stringency is chiefly impeding their installation abroad for use in research in physics, biometrics, chemistry, and in other sciences as well as in the record gathering and keeping departments of governments and private business.

There is, too, the argument of the clear and crucial connection between a highly industrialized and diversified economy, with its myriad transactions in materials, money and manpower, and the need to mechanize office routines.

The enthusiasm with which most office equipment manufacturers greeted President Truman's Point Four, with its promise to industrialize underdeveloped areas, where the bullock still pulls the plow, and peon or peasant counts the coins from his crops on his fingers, is to be explained by enlightened self-interest. They know that the more diversified and complex an economy becomes, the more it expands its production and trade, the more it requires office machinery.

Looking beyond the present, therefore, US office equipment firms are confident that their products will have an ever-increasing share in "telling the American story," as foreign economies revive, global trade expands, and today's currency crisis is ameliorated if not entirely remedied.

"Our world-wide plan for the future," recently declared Marcel Rand, Assistant General Manager of Remington's export division, "is built on the conviction that universal economic well-being is the solution to healthier trade relations. . . . As a citizen of each country in which it is located, our company feels it has a definite stake in the re-building and strengthening of the national economy."

CURRENT ACCOUNT INSTALLATION IN A BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA, BANK

Planning the British Festival of 1951:

"It will usher out the war period.
It will serve as a symbol of our confidence in the future."

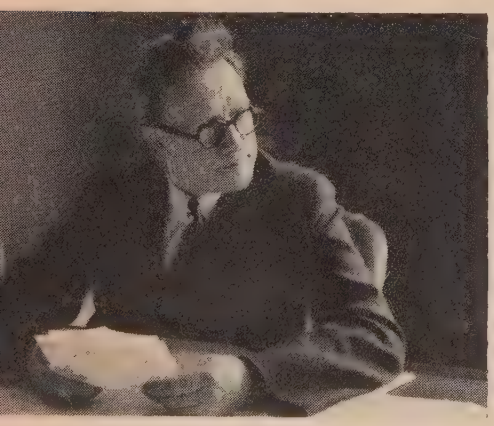
BRITAIN will show the world

By HERBERT MORRISON, M. P.
Lord President of the Council

WE, here in Britain, are all looking forward to the summer of 1951. We are going to blow our own trumpets, put ourselves and our country and our work on show. We are going to enjoy ourselves doing it, and make sure that the many thousands of visitors who will come from other countries will get a hearty welcome and thoroughly enjoy themselves in our company.

To meet the strain of the war and its aftermath, we have had to call on all the tough, and rather grim qualities in our character. It's been a hard, and often lonely fight, for all of us. So much so that some people might have thought our faces had forgotten how to smile. But don't you believe it.

THE AUTHOR



Even when the bombs fell, we met our troubles with a grin, and many a suffering family was eased with a kindly word and a timely joke. And in these days when time is precious and work is long and hard we can still see the funny side of things and are ready to kick up our heels a bit as we hope to do in our Festival year. Besides that, we're a modest lot. Often our modesty is judged wrongly and our quietness is counted as a sort of arrogance. It's a pity—but, well, for once, we're going to swank!

The idea behind the Festival of Britain, 1951, is to show the contribution Great Britain has made, is making, and hopes to make to the arts and sciences of mankind. We aim to do it by letting our neighbors see us at our best, at work and at play. The Festival is our show, it is true, but we shall emphasize that this is our contribution—our contribution to a *common* civilization.

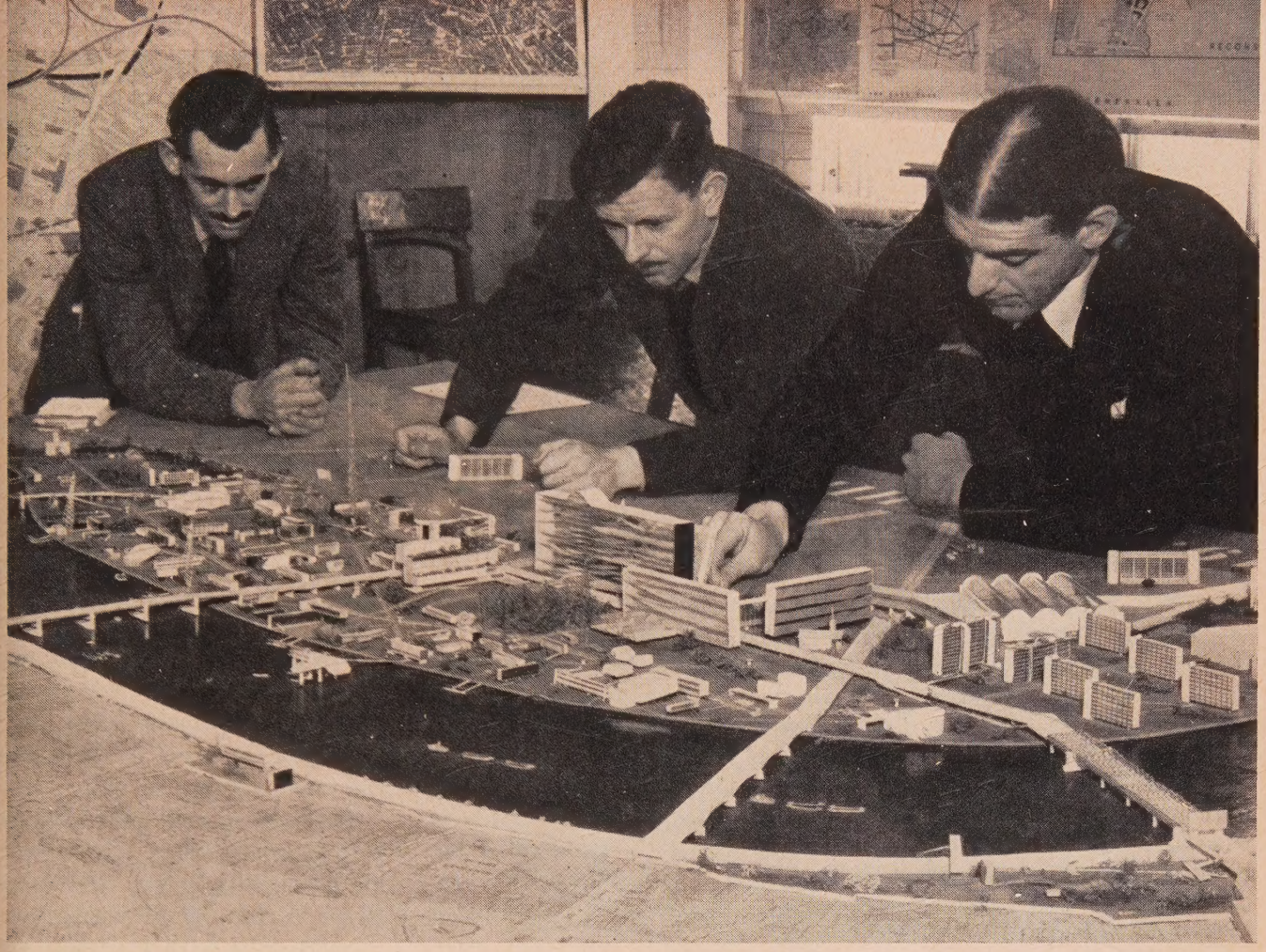
Since the war, Britain and the people of Britain have realized more than ever before the value of co-operation both at home and abroad, and we've tried to put our beliefs into practice. We have entered into a wider partnership with the American people in recovery and defense; with our Continental neighbors through the Council of Europe; and, indeed, with the whole world through our active participation in all the endeavors of the United Nations and its special agencies. We may also claim that the recent inclusion of three Asian neighbor countries in equal partnership in our Commonwealth of Nations has greatly strengthened the cause of democracy and peace.

So we are on view in a special sense. We are seeking a closer acquaintance with old friends, and we are out to show what our partnership is worth.

The Festival of Britain has many aspects. It will mark the centenary of our renowned 1851 Exhibition. It will usher out the war period. It will serve as a symbol of our confidence in the future.

Appropriately enough, the site of the main Festival exhibition is to be the long neglected and heavily blitzed stretch of the south bank of the Thames that lies almost opposite the Houses of Parliament. By 1951 we shall have built there a concert hall and restaurant. It will be a permanent building whose facilities will provide a new center for music. Alongside there will arise especially for the Festival brightly colored pavilions in which the idea of the Festival will be illustrated, brought to life and explained.

British industrial design will have



STUDENT PLANNERS STUDY MODELS OF THE EXHIBITION AT LONDON'S ARCHITECTURAL ASSOCIATION

a prominent place though the exhibition is not, of course, a trade fair. Selection of exhibits will be made on a basis of merit and relevance to the Festival's theme. Competition for such honors should be keen; designers and workmen everywhere will be stimulated to fresh efforts. The Council for Industrial Design, as one of the Festival's constituent bodies, has already opened a 1951 "stock list," a pictorial card index, to which British firms are asked to contribute and from which the final selection will be made. The index may also prove to be a valuable reference library covering a wide range of products.

Imaginative planning for economic and social advance, and the resolution and energy of her citizens to carry out the plans they have made, is recognizably the spirit of the new Britain. Nowhere can this be better illustrated than in the founding and building of new homes and new communities. In the Poplar-Stepney area, three miles farther down the Thames, an architectural exhibition will show how the people of London are trying to reshape their great city. It will take the form of a cross-section of a residential neighborhood in course of construction. It will include flats and houses and other amenities, some completed, others in various stages of building planning and techniques.

To stress the outstanding contribution of this country to the sciences there will be a separate science exhibition in London and a technology exhibition in Glasgow.

It is the intention of the organizers to make the utmost use of the Thames. Floodlighting, fountains, flowers and fireworks and open-air riverside restaurants, will invite us and our visitors to sit and enjoy it all. In the early summer there will be a great festival of the arts and music, ballet, opera, theatre and all the visual arts.

The Festival will not be confined to the capital. In every town and hamlet throughout England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the Festival spirit will find various forms of expression and Festivals of the Arts will take place at different times throughout the summer at centers already established.

We hope there will also be a film festival.

What do we want our Festival to achieve? Of course, we hope it will help our tourist industry. British products should find new markets. Shipping and airlines should report a boom year. But, in the Festival of Britain, 1951, we are after something more. We are out to take stock of our progress in the arts of peace and to give ourselves a tonic of gaiety. We want to give our guests from abroad a new understanding of ourselves, and a new knowledge of our contribution to the common good. If we succeed, we shall have taken a great step towards a better and more cheerful future for all.

Stalin: A Political Biography

A new book by Isaac Deutscher

Reviewed by
Ellsworth Raymond

THOUGH Stalin has been studied in many biographies, few are as thorough and unprejudiced as this timely volume by an editor of the London Economist. Stalinists, Trotskyites, fellow travelers and red baiters should be equally annoyed by this book, which pulls no punches in its cool scientific analysis of Stalin's strong and weak points, his innumerable successes and failures, his virtues and vices.

Nor will the lover of human interest find juicy gossip to entertain him in this work. Mr. Deutscher's prodigious research must have uncovered amusing personal items, like Stalin's relaxation in singing peasant songs with Voroshilov in the dictator's room after working hours, but such trivia are omitted.

The book is a "political biography." It professes to be nothing more than a painstaking chronicle of Stalin's words and deeds in relation to events in and outside Russia. But it is more than a record, for the author attempts to find the underlying ideas and emotions that caused Stalin to act and speak as he did. Thus, the book is not only a political study, but a philosophical and even a psychological one.

It is to Mr. Deutscher's credit that he has handled such a difficult project soundly and logically. Some of the author's conclusions may not stand the test of time, but the book makes a superb effort to probe the hidden thoughts of the man who is easily the most secretive ruler in modern and contemporary history.

Many of Mr. Deutscher's findings are not new. Among these are the facts that Stalin was an unpublicized but key Communist leader both before and during the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, that he is a doer rather than a Marxist theoretician, that he rose to control the USSR by clever party politics instead of leadership through popularity, that he is a true believer in Communism but has often sacrificed his ideals to expediency, and that his thinking is more Slavophile and even semi-Asiatic than Western.

However, the author brings out one phase of Stalin's character often ignored by both his admirers and detractors: Stalin has a long record of cautious compromise, careful hesitation and intentional ambiguity. He has not always displayed the undeviating will and resolute action for which he is noted. Often in the early disputes within the party, he did not take a strong stand until he was sure which way the majority leaned, and then he would quietly join the winning side. At many tense moments, this man of action did nothing—until he saw the direction in which the course of events was leading. Even after gaining absolute power, Stalin in his public speeches has been intentionally vague, so that at least two courses of future action remain always open. The classic example of such ambiguity was his speech at the 18th Party Conference in early 1939, when Stalin in one and the same speech subtly invited both the Allies and Hitler to come to terms with him. After examining the record, one feels that Stalin has gained domestic a international power by caution much or more than by brute for And since present day Russia cann but reflect the character of the m who has been its ruler for a quart century, contemporary Soviet civi zation is likewise full of ambiguiti and compromises.

The book is wide open to atta from all sides, because of its surgeo like impartiality, its unavoidable ga in source data, its attempt to cov a multitude of debatable events, a —not least—its endeavor to write mental history of a man who conce his thoughts.

Though Mr. Deutscher tries avoid the pitfall of attaching t much importance to Stalin's whi as compared with the logic of even this error nevertheless sometimes a pears. In reality, the decisions modern rulers are usually made the basis of cold logic, based on t best available appraisal and inform tion at the moment. Later the decisi may appear poor or unsound, b this does not necessarily mean that was the ruler's arbitrary, emotion choice. Stalin may have overest mated the French and underest mated the German forces in 1939 b cause his military experts did—li most other army men throughout t world. But, despite this tendency overemphasize the personal role his leading character (a fault that almost an occupational disease biographers), Mr. Deutscher's stu of Stalin's mind is well wor and very rewarding reading.

(Oxford University Press, $5.)

Black Liberator

by Stephen Alexis. New York, Macmillan. $5.00.

OUT of the somber history of Negro colonization of the New World leaps the splendid figure of Toussaint Louverture, the Haitian revolutionist. Perhaps he leaps the higher because he was a Negro, a member of a hobbled race, whose world leaders have yet to prove themselves. But if any should doubt that proof will come, let him mark Toussaint, the self-educated slave, whose qualities of leadership so evoked the admiration of his contemporaries that comparison with his great betrayer, Napoleon, was unavoidable, and by no means unfavorable.

His story is told in *Black Liberator* by Stephen Alexis, former Haitian Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and at present Permanent Delegate to the United Nations.

Mr. Alexis depicts Toussaint as a melancholy youth whose natural reserve enabled him for years to pick an impassive and singlehearted way amid the conflicting groups of his time.

He displays the pattern of mind of the idealistic revolutionist as it has become familiar to us in Russia, Ireland, and India. Such a man has little personal ambition and desires no material advantage. Titles irritate him unless they be honestly earned; Toussaint enjoyed the title of "Physician to the Armies," gained because of his attention to his wounded soldiers. He is simple in his dress; Toussaint may look flamboyant to modern eyes, but he was famous in his time for modest attire. He is not sensual. He identifies himself with the very meanest and lowest of his contemporaries, and clings to this with amazing continuity of purpose, even when success has brought him the friendship of the great.

Mr. Alexis, whose turn of thought is as colorful as it is scholarly, has not forgotten the charm of legend and anecdote: the dark-skinned virgin on a crimson cloud who appears to Toussaint in a dream and says: "Thou art the Negro Spartacus!"

Betty Stones

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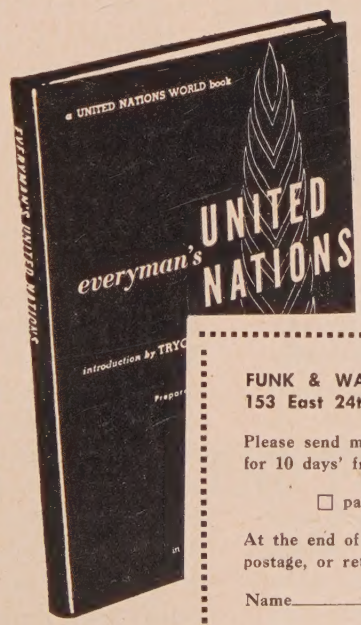

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An Editorial: BY LOUIS DOLIVET

The UN's New Freedom from Fear

FOR the first time since the start of the cold war, delegates of the 59 nations can meet at the next General Assembly with the certainty that the threat of an imminent World War III no longer exists.

Already the more mature UN delegates are speculating in a mood of restrained hope on what a free-from-fear General Assembly of the UN could accomplish.

Ever since the first Assemblies—in San Francisco where the Charter was written, and in London where the United Nations organization was founded—the highest forum of the world has met under the clouds of crisis, present or pending. Each time, relations between the USSR and the US were so tense that delegates felt that they were sitting on a powder keg that might explode at any moment.

The failure to reach an agreement on international control of atomic energy appeared not long ago to be a major threat to peace. Many believed that the US would never give Russia the time necessary to build its own atomic bomb—or that the Soviet Union would ever give the US the time necessary to improve and enlarge its existing stock of atomic bombs.

The Iranian dispute, the fight between the Dutch and the Indonesians, the clash between India and Pakistan, the war in Palestine—all darkly shadowed deliberations of previous UN Assemblies. The worst of all these international conflicts were the blockade of Berlin and the announcement of the Atlantic Pact.

Even iron-nerved diplomats were anxious lest the Berlin blockade and airlift result in shooting which would be difficult, if not impossible, to localize. Even more concern was felt over the Atlantic Pact. As recently as last September, Western statesmen were seriously worried that Soviet armies might be suddenly flung across the continent of Europe to the Zuyder Zee. Against this contingency, Western military strategists were preparing counter measures. Men in both civilian and military groups reasoned that the USSR would never permit the consolidation of Western forces under American aegis.

Now, by contrast, the Assembly of the UN will meet in a hopeful atmosphere. Today, many of the smaller problems are out of the way, and while none of the major grave conflicts which divide the East and West have been completely settled, they have nevertheless lost their character of acute emergency.

The next General Assembly will, consequently, meet in a changed frame of mind. The dreams and high hop of San Francisco are now revived and seem again to in the realm of the possible. While a system of collecti security—which is the final goal of the United Nations does not yet exist, a sufficient measure of practical inte national security has emerged to allay for each count the fear of being suddenly attacked without allies friends.

Therefore, the time has come for every government re-assess and re-evaluate its United Nations policy. T time has come to tackle the long-range program of t social and economic welfare of mankind.

The provisional agenda of the General Assembly co tains one extremely important item—the proposal to l living levels in underdeveloped countries, a direct ou come of President Truman's famous Point Four. On th subject the General Assembly could with comparati ease reach accord on a really constructive program.

The smaller powers, in particular, have an unpre dented opportunity to insist that the humanitarian pro sions of the Charter be implemented. The old excuse th continuing East-West tension makes long-range progra impossible has lost its meaning.

The two big powers—US and USSR—will have realize that the other members of the UN expect fro both of them an approach and a vocabulary very differe from the past. To put it bluntly, many governments a tired of the constant reiteration of the East-West arg ments. They would support a change in pace on the pa of both—or at least on the part of one.

Now that the UN promises to enter a new constructi phase, representatives from business and labor partic larly should again be appointed as technical advisers the Assembly. At San Francisco, some 40 US organiz tions were officially invited to serve as consultants to t American delegation. This kind of participation by n tional organizations from all the UN countries wou again lift the moral plane, and the quality of debate, heights from which the UN should never have descende Moreover, delegations should be drawn from the t echelons and, at least at the beginning, some chiefs state should themselves attend.

It must never be forgotten that to build peace and un versal well-being will require new vision, new courag new methods and perhaps even new men.